



VOLUME 11, NUMBER 73 85¢

# FOCUS

## MIDWEST

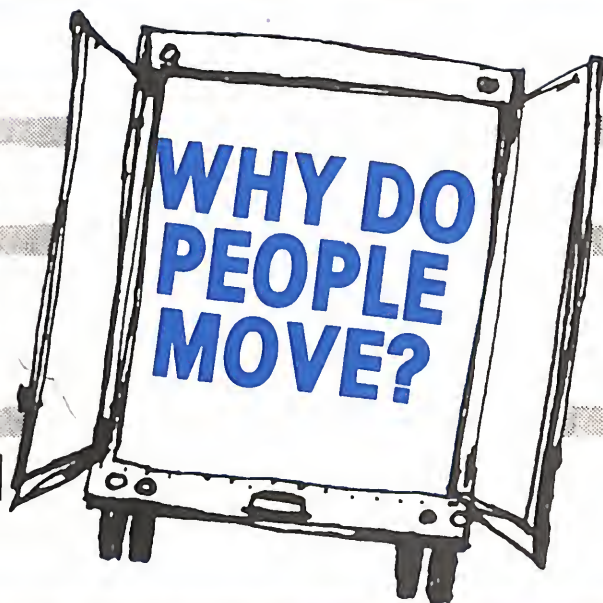
A MAGAZINE SENSITIVE TO THE REALITIES IN OUR SOCIETY

**Subsidized housing works**

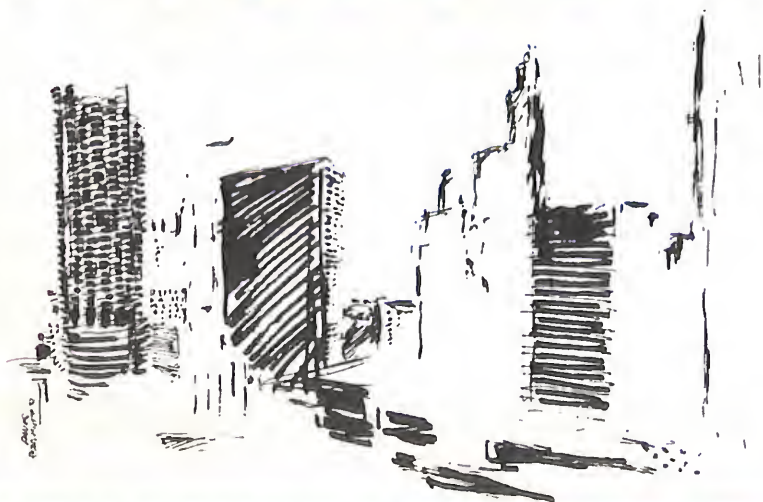
**The limitations of public opinion**

**Black removal opens up  
urban centers**

**Methadone program conceived  
in panic**



# The future of Chicago



**A PROFILE OF  
SOCIAL CHANGE**

**A BLUEPRINT FOR  
POLITICAL CHANGE**

# OUT OF FOCUS

*(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)*

Robert Freilich, professor of law at U.M.K.C. and legal consultant to the Kansas City (Mo.) school board, finds that the strongest case for metropolitan desegregation in the country is in Kansas City, reports *Qie-Notes*. In support of such a law suit, Freilich cites intentional segregation, discriminatory location of minorities and low income people in the central school district by the Housing and Urban Development Department, transportation of perhaps thousands of black students into the K.C. district from surrounding communities, quotations by Missouri Highway Department and other government officials on possible segregative effects of a Southeast freeway. "We know," declared Freilich, "and we can't get any information because of a closed records policy, that the Shawnee Mission (Ks.) School District prior to consolidation sent hundreds, if not thousands, of black students across the line (into Missouri) for high school education, with very little money being paid to Kansas City, much of it being done under the table, with false residences and false addresses."

While nuclear power and disposal is making headlines and is of ever-increasing concern, only one out of 17 members of the Missouri Atomic Energy Commission attended a legislative hearing in November, reports the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The legislative hearing was called to establish a licensing method for nuclear and coal-fired power plant sites in Missouri.

Dr. Maurice Green heads a \$1.3 million-a-year cancer research institute at St. Louis University. While there are some bright spots, Green says that the outlook for a quick cure for cancer, even in the 1980s, is "grim." When questioned by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, whether as a researcher he is "helped or hurt when someone like the president of the American Cancer Society comes to St. Louis and says, as the society president did, that there is a good possibility in the 1980s that there are going to be cures for cancer?" Dr. Green answered, "... I doubt if he knows anywhere near as much as I know now. I think it's probably a genuine belief on his part, but I don't think there is any scientific basis for his statement."

University City, Missouri, which prides itself on many progressive programs, has decided that a County-sponsored prisoner work-release program is not good enough for University City and might downgrade one of its apartment-house neighborhoods. The City Council therefore voted to accept donation of an apartment house by Boys Town of Missouri, Inc., before the County Council had time to act on Boys Town's offer of the same property to the County. The City must now make repairs to bring the donated building into compliance with the housing code.

In a classic case of logrolling, a bill in the Illinois legislature authorizing state funds to build a convention center in Edwardsville, was broadened to include convention centers throughout the state. The irony is that the bill's initial sponsor, Senator San Vadalabene of Edwardsville, will not end up with any convention center in his own county. The reason: neighboring St. Clair County argued that East St. Louis needed the economic stimulus more than Southern Illinois University/Edwardsville did. So with the help of Governor Walker, and through a twist of fate which put Senator Vadalabene in the hospital (with a heart attack), not enough votes could be mustered to create a Madison County Convention Center Authority to receive the already authorized state aid.

*Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks*, a book prepared by 32 scholars over a 3-year period for the Council on Interracial Books for Children, charges that publishers have made only superficial improvements in history textbooks regarding the roles of Native Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Asian Americans, Puerto Ricans, and women in U.S. history. For example, to the extent that racism and sexism are dealt with in textbooks, they are treated as isolated mistakes of the past, never as on-going structures. Textbooks patronizingly list "contributions" of minorities, implying that the only value of other cultures lies in what "they" contributed to "us." The book contains extensive supplemental information about U.S. history. (It can be obtained from the Council at 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023.)

## CREDITS

Page 7: The article was adapted from "Methadone and Alcohol" published in the *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*

Page 19: Photo courtesy of Chicago Convention and Tourism Bureau



# FOCUS

## MIDWEST

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# Letters

## GREAT ELECTION ISSUE

F/M: Your November election issue was great...

Roger Rowlett  
Leavenworth, Kansas

## JUSTICE FOR INDIAN

F/M: It is not often that the National Council of Churches can give attention to the situation of an individual - but, as we became aware of Leonard Crow Dog, an Indian medicine man, we could not sit back while an individual, and a religious

leader at that, is as much a victim of outrageous injustice as Leonard Crow Dog.

We at the Council are especially concerned at this injustice because Leonard Crow Dog is the spiritual leader of the Rosebud Sioux - he is the author of a book on Indian history and religion - and he has been actively opposing the government's policy of separating the Indians from their land, their heritage and their religion.

Since 1973, the U.S. Government has persecuted and hounded Crow Dog through its judicial system. Three times Crow Dog has been "convicted" on "evidence" that is so flimsy that it would be laughable - except that Crow Dog's freedom is at stake.

The first time Crow Dog was brought to court was on charges stemming from the historic and dramatic occupation of

Wounded Knee. The charge was "interfering with Federal officers." Four postal inspectors entered the besieged hamlet, were captured by Indians, and were brought to a building where Crow Dog was. Crow Dog lectured them on Indian rights and *had them safely escorted out of the hamlet*. All four testified that Crow Dog did not harm them but protected them. There were many contradictions, yet, despite this confusion, the jury took little time in reaching its verdict. *Guilty* - and Crow Dog was sentenced to 11 years in a Federal prison!!!

While awaiting appeal, Crow Dog and his family were awakened one night by two trespassers - one was a suspect in the brutal slaying of Crow Dog's nephew, and both were suspect in the savage beating of another of Crow Dog's nephews earlier that night. On this night, both men were drunk and belligerent and drove through two log barriers to reach his house. Luckily for Crow Dog, friends and relatives were camping on his land in order to protect him against such people, and they ejected the trespassers. Just two days later more than 100 FBI agents and Federal marshals literally invaded Crow Dog's land by car, helicopter, and even boat!!! They pointed guns at Crow Dog, his wife Mary - and even to the head of Crow Dog's small child!

The charge this time was "abetting an assault" and the all-white jury took just minutes to convict Crow Dog. Two concurrent five-year sentences were added to his prison term.

This was last November - and in January Crow Dog was once again dragged into court on another "assault" charge. This trial was even more ludicrous, as Crow Dog was charged with attacking with a *toy* tomahawk a man who had invaded Crow Dog's home and made passes at his wife. The man was wielding a sharp chain saw blade. Yet, in court, he was a picture of "civilization" in a suit and tie, and it was white vs. Indian on trial. The all-white jury quickly returned another guilty verdict. Again, 5 more years (this time reduced to probation).

From the time the Federal officers arrested him he was in prison until a generous friend in New York City put up \$25,000 collateral for his bail. Today he is free temporarily, but he is not free from the threat of years in prison, nor is he free from continual harassment and more trumped-up charges.

Help us save this gifted and devoted man and return him to the Indian nation which needs him.

Dean M. Kelley  
National Council of Churches  
Division of Church and Society  
475 Riverside Drive  
New York, N.Y. 10027

## You read it first in FOCUS/Midwest

Speculation about the identity of "Deep Throat" have lately cropped up in many publications as diverse as *Rolling Stone* and the *Wall Street Journal*. For our readers the facts were revealed by Prof. R. H. Popkin long ago. If you missed it, receive a free issue with your subscription or gift subscription.



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## Why people move

Public policy emerges as the most important component in the taxonomy of racially changing areas in Professor Gary Tobin's article "Why Do People Move." Yet, rapid racial change, which does not benefit any community or people, is a process that is not confined to autonomous jurisdictions. Racial change is very much affected by local public policy, but does not respect political boundaries. Thus, local governments are usually ineffectual in preventing population changes. The challenge of racial transition must therefore be met by the largest units of government, including metropolitan-wide governments and the national government.

A comparison study of two communities within the St. Louis metropolitan area – politically autonomous University City, and the St. Louis City neighborhood of Walnut Park – shows the importance of a community's ability to deal independently with its problems. But similarities between the two communities point up the importance of those factors which do not respect political boundaries.

Tobin's paper concludes with a suggested set of strategies for meeting and coping with racial transition. It also pleads for intergovernmental coordination and for sensitive policy planning at higher levels of government. Among strategies which a local neighborhood might adopt is the formation of a strong neighborhood organization, to enhance the perception of stability, and also to lobby the city administration for adequate urban services (street repair, safety, trash pick-up, etc.).

Among strategies a municipality might adopt are the use of all available federal, state or private grant programs to provide extra services or to keep up the level of services and amenities; the enforcement of strict housing and occupancy codes; the maintenance of close contact with the school district in order to maintain or improve the quality of education. Unlike the common notion that schools should be independent and left alone, they represent such a crucial ingredient in the makeup of a community that it is paramount for civic leaders to become deeply involved in their support.

University City used both of the above sets of strategies – civic participation and strong municipal action – and was blessed with a number of fortunate characteristics, including good location within the metropolis; well-educated, middle-class population; good initial housing stock; good reputation regarding schools and municipal management. In spite of all these advantages, University City may still not be able to overcome population pressures. Although able to influence how its coterminous school district spends its funds, University City is unable to influence the district's ranking vis-à-vis other school districts in the metropolitan area in regard to expenditures per pupil. Also, if a certain percentage of black population is reached and in the perspective of "whites" discourages hopes for "stability," the University City housing market may become a "black housing market" only.

On balance, because of its unusual characteristics, University City has an excellent opportunity to remain an integrated and stable community.

What about other urban areas not so fortunate as University City? Only federal policy, favoring stability rigidly enforced and well funded, can hope to halt the cycle of rapid racial changes.

## Change in Chicago

The death of Mayor Richard J. Daley introduces the possibility of political change in Chicago. We say "possibility" advisedly. The varied interests which created and benefitted from the Daley machine will strive to continue past political and social arrangements. This coalition includes not only the army of patronage workers, business and labor leaders, but also a coterie of second- and third-level followers whose very position depend upon the survival of a Daley-type system. Faced with this array of social forces, the prospects for realignment are minimal. Without such realignment of political loyalties among leaders and voters, the system will remain closed and inaccessible.

Daley's departure occasioned the typical avalanche of pre-written articles citing the "good" and "bad" of his regime. FOCUS/Midwest prefers not to look back. In this issue, Pierre de Vise, Chicago sociologist and frequent contributor to this magazine, draws a profile of Chicago's current liabilities. Balancing this presentation is his offer of a solution to Chicago as well as all core cities: the pooling of resources with the suburbs which ultimately will benefit all.

Dick Simpson, Chicago Alderman, offers immediately attainable goals to his fellow Chicagoans: participation and decision-making. This deceptively simple approach to local government, turns out to be not only quite sophisticated but may also represent the only alternative to further alienation and decay. It works in Simpson's ward.

Simpson, de Vise, and Tobin, as well as Dr. Francine Rabinovitz (see "Coming into Focus" p. 9), all state that a combination of federal policies, population movements, and dislocation of resources have placed the burden for the welfare of our major cities upon federal and regional planning.

While the states may be of legislative help by equalizing the tax base, only the federal government can provide the necessary resources. This does not mean that the local community will have less input. As Alderman Simpson points out, only neighborhood participation and control of the legislative machinery will rebuild a city and create new democratic forms of government.

## Poor, unemployed, undercounted

Current federal statistics are inadequate for the equitable distribution of hundreds of millions of dollars in federal manpower (CETA) funds to central cities, a University of Missouri-St. Louis report shows. *Measuring Unemployment in the City of St. Louis*, done by the University's Political Science Department and reported on by Joan Saunders in *National Civic Review* July, 1976, is based on data collected in St. Louis during the fall of 1975. Using the same definitions as the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) (on which some CETA funding is based) and the same methodology as the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS) (on which other CETA funds are based), but using a larger, more diversified and representative sample of the population, the researchers found the average unemployment rate for St. Louis City to be 16.8% compared to 11.7% and 7.7% according to the BLS and CPS respectively. These differences could have cost the city millions of dollars per year in CETA funds.

Currently, the CPS undercounts poor people, and thus undercounts those who are most likely to be

unemployed, underemployed, or working for poverty wages, as well as minorities, less educated and less experienced job hunters, and central city residents. Criticism of BLS statistics includes the fact that the local figures on unemployment compensation which the BLS uses are not comparable from state to state, and also that the BLS's definition of unemployed excludes all those who have been discouraged from actively looking for a job within the previous four weeks [or "discouraged workers"], and the BLS's criteria of need for CETA funds excludes those who are underemployed, and those working for poverty wages.

### ***Student representation needed***

The Associated Students of the University of Missouri, Columbia (ASUM) and representatives from the student government associations of many other Missouri Campuses are lobbying to bring Missouri up-to-date in public higher-education governance policy through passage of SB 15. This bill would provide for inclusion of a full-time, graduate or undergraduate student on the governing boards of Missouri public senior institutions. The student representative would be appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate upon recommendation of a panel of 3 names by the university student body associations. SB 15 specifies that a student curator would be accorded full board membership rights and responsibilities, including the right to vote.

Senate sponsors include Wiggins, Banks and Gannon. The bill is presently in the Senate Education Committee, where the committee's vice-chairperson, freshman Harriett Woods, is the only member to have expressed unqualified support for the bill.

Currently 50 public universities in at least 30 states incorporate students on their governing boards. The surrounding states of Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Kentucky and Tennessee have students on the governing boards of their land grant institutions! Student curators now serve in every state except Nevada. About 1 in every 4 public, 4-year institutions incorporate students on its governing boards. Thus, student trusteeism is not a radical, new, unproven idea. It is a widely-practiced system vigorously endorsed by legislators and university administrators alike.

The presence of a student on the board will legitimize board decisions in the eyes of students. Indeed, the question of democratic rights is at issue here. Students comprise the bulk of the population of a

*continued on page 32*

### ***New FOCUS/Midwest section to feature research findings (see page seven)***

Research and conclusions of the *Institute of Social and Behavioral Pathology* will appear in FOCUS/Midwest on a regular basis. Editors of this section and co-chairmen of the Board of the Institute are *Lawrence Freedman* and *Harold Lasswell*.

The Institute of Social and Behavioral Pathology is devoted to advancing human welfare through scientific inquiry into social and behavioral pathology and publicizing the results of this inquiry. It studies ways of putting an end to violence and of channeling violent propensities into acts which are constructive and ethical.

The Institute is concerned with understanding and overcoming difficulties that occur in adapting

the nature of man to the requirements of a successful common life. The overwhelming need is to reach rational decisions, individually and socially. The Institute seeks to discover those factors which interfere with that process.

FOCUS/Midwest is pleased to offer its reader the research and conclusions by members of the Institute which represent the frontier of social research in this country. The merits of this section can be best described in reviewing the history of the Institute and the background of its two editors.

While the Institute was established in its present form in 1970 it is the continuation of initiatives and activities that began in the nineteen-forties at Yale University.

In 1950 the Yale Study Unit in Psychiatry and Law was established as the first cooperative research and teaching organization under the sponsorship of the Yale Law School and the Yale Medical School. Co-founders were the late Professor George Dession of Yale Law School, an American pioneer in the introduction of psychological and neurological dimensions to the theory and practice of law, and Dr. Lawrence Zelic Freedman, his colleague in these activities. Professor Harold Lasswell of the Yale Law School was an active participant in the training and research program.

Freedman is Foundations' Fund Research Professor of Psychiatry, University of Chicago and Lecturer, Child Study Center, Yale Medical School. His studies range from human evolutionary development to the biological and social origins of the psychological characteristics of human adaptation.

Freedman has been an investigator and professor at the Yale Medical School, as well as its Law School, and of the faculties of the University of Cambridge and the University of Tel-Aviv, as well as a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Freedman has also been Chairman of the Yale Study Unit in Psychiatry and Law; a psychiatric consultant to the American Law Institute in the writing of its Model Penal Code; psychiatric consultant to the President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence; and Permanent Non-Governmental Delegate and Consultant to the United Nations.

Harold Dwight Lasswell, Ford Foundation Professor Emeritus of the Social Sciences, Yale University, has long been recognized as a major figure in the interdisciplinary movement. His concern for the integration of knowledge with action led to the coinage of the term "policy sciences." He has performed research and analysis in many fields: political science — particularly law and jurisprudence — philosophy, psychiatry, psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, and communication. Among his many professional activities are consultative work at The Rand Corporation and with the Departments of State, Justice, and Agriculture, planning and service on the board of the Committee for Economic Development, and research, teaching, and advisory work in such countries as Japan, Peru, Chile, and India, together with continuing work in Europe. A member of the political science department of the University of Chicago until 1938, he then helped to found the Washington School of Psychiatry. In 1945, he became professor of law and political science at Yale Law School and the Graduate School of Yale University. In 1970, he became professor emeritus and assumed his present position in New York.

# Methadone Program Conceived In Panic

- Treatment risks alcoholism
- Reduces crime against property, increases crime against persons
- Heroin acquisition and distribution is violent, drug usage is passive

When a heroin addict applies for admission to a methadone treatment program, he signs a document in which he is informed that methadone is an addicting drug and of the other possible complications. He is not usually told, however, that he may also become an alcoholic, that he may be risking two legal addictions in exchange for one illegal one.

These data are derived from an inner-city methadone-oriented treatment facility in a large midwestern city.

Possession of heroin is, by definition, a criminal act. The criminalization of preparing, dealing, selling, and using this drug has made it so expensive and dangerous that assaultive, violent acts are associated with its acquisition and distribution. The psychopharmacologic actions of heroin itself, however, are predominantly passive.

A widely publicized study was made of the criminal records of a random sample of patients in a methadone-based drug abuse program. The arrest rate for the heroin addicts, during the prior 2-year period of various crimes, underwent a dramatic drop of 62% during 2 years as clients in a methadone-based program. Crimes against property declined by two-thirds; narcotics crimes decreased by two-thirds; vice, or sex crimes, was reduced by 75%. However, violent assaults against persons, including murder, increased by almost 50%. The cumulative calculation of all arrests together gave the impression of a decrease in crime. However, violent crimes that create the atmosphere of social crisis actually increased.

Most clients had been non- or "social" drinkers during their heroin addiction. One-fourth had been "moderate" drinkers; that is, they had drunk sometimes to intoxication but never frequently or steadily enough to interfere with their occupations, whether a legal job or illegal hustling of various sorts. Of all these heroin addicts, only six had been daily, chronic, excessive drinkers.

Under the methadone treatment program, however, the alcoholic pattern changes. Of the first group of 49, only 17 remain alcohol abstinent or social drinkers, 13 have become moderate, and 19 have become excessive drinkers.

Of the 29 moderate drinkers, 17 have become excessive alcoholics, six remain moderate drinkers, and six have reduced their drinking.

Of the six excessive alcoholics, five have remained unimproved. One has become a non- or social-drinker.

In the methadone treatment, particularly during decreased methadone intake, or detoxification, there is a corresponding rise in alcohol intake. It is this increase in alcohol intake that is most closely related to violent offenses, which explains the apparent discrepancy between perceived in-

crease of crime and official reports. So, while there is an overall decrease in all crimes, the greatest drop is in sex crimes, but there is an almost 50% increase in the most serious and feared crimes, those of violence turned against persons.

The nationwide methadone treatment program was initiated only 10 years ago by Nyswanger and Dole at Rockefeller University. However, it was catapulted into national and international consciousness a little over 5 years ago, when it was reported that large numbers of American soldiers in Vietnam were taking heroin. A nation sickened with war took massive executive and legislative action to protest its foreign adventures and its threatened domestic tranquility.

A closer look at the targets of that panicky program presents a less alarming picture.

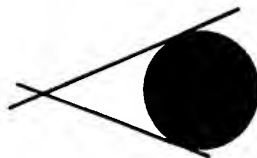
A 1975 study concluded that "patterns of drug usage observed in the United States military (Vietnam) users appears to be determined less by pharmacological and personality variables than by the interaction of circumstances such as availability, peer pressure, and drug-use fads."

Others reported in the same year that in a random sampling of Vietnam soldiers, "nearly half of the men were regular drinkers. One-quarter had had problems from drinking, and four percent met the criteria for alcoholism. Rates of alcoholism and symptomatic drinking declined in Vietnam; opiate use increased fivefold. . . . Drug use for the post-Vietnam period returned to the pre-Vietnam level."

Our findings are therefore supported by studies of the very population, American Vietnam veterans, who first caused methadone programs to be initiated. It demonstrates that the dangers of alcoholism complicate methadone treatment of heroin addiction.

In the final analysis, however, rehabilitation programs, vocational programs, and, above all, alleviation of the dreadful socioeconomic deprivations related to, among other factors, the racial bias under which most of these people have been born and have suffered during their lives will, in the long run, prove the most satisfactory means of reducing the heroin problem, except for a minority whose psychologic problems will then provide the irreducible minimum from which the majority of the addicts will come.

As has so often been stated, the great drug problem in this country is alcoholism. We know that legal prohibition does not prevent the rise of alcoholism, and we know to our sorrow that not only does it give rise to enormous wealth and power to criminals and criminal gangs but that some of them are now also profiting from the great wealth to be made by dealing in heroin.



## MISSOURI POLITICS

Missouri voters are becoming more independent, concludes Secretary of State **James Kirkpatrick**. In a press release from his office, Kirkpatrick stated that the highest level of ticket-splitting in Missouri's history occurred during the November 1976 election, when 51% of the voters chose candidates from more than one party. (1,007,349 of the 1,953,600 votes cast came from voters who chose candidates independently of their party preferences.) This tops the previous record of 42% ticket-splitting in the 1972 Presidential election.

The ticket-splitting enabled both a Democrat and a Republican to enjoy landslide victories.

Missouri voters appeared to be independent not only of parties but also of nationwide trends. Missourians apparently bucked the recently publicized nationwide "taxpayer's revolt" by voting *against* the abolition of food and medicine sales tax while voting *for* a sales tax to aid conservation.

### PROPOSAL V:

#### PASSED 598,897 TO 442,103

**Amendment 5** in this year's August primary election in Missouri asked voters to repeal the Missouri Constitutional provision which authorized separate schools for black and white children. The "separate but equal" provision had been ruled unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1954. Thus the amendment, which was initiated by the legislature, was merely a move to eliminate an archaic provision from the Missouri Constitution. The amendment passed by a vote of **598,897** in favor to **442,103** opposed. In other words, four hundred forty-two thousand or 43% of the voters voted against the clarification. Interestingly, the amendment was defeated in 57 or half of Missouri's 114 counties. A look at the figure may point out some interesting patterns. Most of the counties supporting the amendment lie adjacent to the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. There are noted exceptions, however, which include portions of southwest and northcentral Missouri. The reason for passage in the above counties may very well relate to three factors: (1) the higher education levels found in these counties, (2) the fact that all or nearly all have or are near population centers with daily newspapers, and (3) most have larger percentages of black

populations than those opposing the amendment.

In support of the first reason above, 45.5% of the population were high school graduates and 7.3% were graduates of college in counties approving the amendment. In those counties opposing the amendment, 35.9% were graduates of high

school whereas 4.5% had college degrees. Also, with respect to minority groups, counties which approved the amendment had almost four times the number of blacks—4.2% to 1.3% (1970 Census of Population).

*Excerpted from Governmental Affairs Newsletter University of Missouri.*

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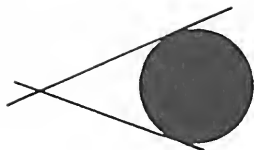
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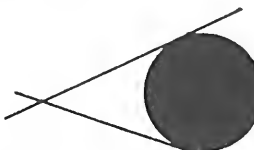




## ILLINOIS POLITICS

*An Analysis of the Black Vote in the 1976 Primary Election in Chicago*, prepared by Leon Davis, written by David M. Wallace, and printed by Chicago State University in July 1976, concludes that neither regular Democratic nor Republican Ward Organizations in Chicago's black community nominate candidates who excite voter turnout. Therefore, the voters are not well-served by existing party structures. Except for 20 predominantly white precincts around the University of Chicago in Ward 5, where independent political forces raise the candidates and the issues, and except for a tiny bloc of independent black voters on the west side, blacks are also not mobilized nor well-served by independent political groups.

Low registration, participation and "activity" rates among blacks in the 15 predominantly black south side and west side indicate a lack of coherent, consistent political leadership "that focuses on the needs and interests of the black community and that incites the people to register and to vote. There is no ongoing political education of the black constituency to build a base of power with the sophistication to participate in the selection and election processes. There is no forum to review issues and to hold office holders accountable to the needs and interests of the community. Without a mechanism to assess the responsibility of political officials, slating and election will depend upon other factors, such as party loyalty, rather than on the ability to serve."



## COMING INTO FOCUS

The Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System published its procedures for handling complaints by consumers. The announcement emphasized that any consumer having a complaint regarding an unfair or deceptive practice by a bank, or a violation of law or regulation, can get the complaint investigated by submitting it, preferably in writing, to the Director of the Office of Saver and Consumer Affairs

at the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Washington, D.C. 20551. Complaints may also be registered at the Federal Reserve Bank for the District in which the bank is located.

The Missouri Conservation Department has been promoting an air conditioning plan for Missouri cities which runs on free energy. The attractively designed 2½-ton air conditioning units are being planned for city streets, parks and schools. They're called trees. (A mature tree can provide the cooling effect of a 2½-ton air conditioner.) Under the Conservation Department's community forestry program which may be expanded as a result of the 1/8 cent sales tax enacted last November, forest experts have made planting and management recommendations to municipalities in 75 such projects since the program's inception in 1969.

Central cities, especially in the "frost belt," have been propped up for the last 10 or 13 years by a hodge-podge of payments, intergovernmental and directly to the poor. But these payments have failed to break the cycle of poverty, because they are made, for the most part, in response to emergencies, on the assumption that central cities and poor people are capable of ultimately pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps. Payments are thus made at the lowest level consonant with preventing outright starvation of people and bankruptcy of cities. They are a temporary stop gap, rather than the expression of a conscious policy of social justice. What is needed, argues Dr. Francine Rabinovitz, (professor of public administration, urban and regional planning, and political science at the University of Southern California), is general acceptance that without long-term, constant subsidies central cities will eventually collapse. Without the imposition of metropolitan government on unwilling suburbanites — which is impossible under our system of government, central cities no longer can control their own destinies, nor their fiscal situation. Let us recognize this fact, says Dr. Rabinovitz, and give money where it's needed.

Chicago's Citizens Committee on the Media (CCOM) negotiated an agreement with WGN-TV and Radio October 15, 1976, whereby the broadcasting company would seek out minorities and women for management jobs and would meet with CCOM representatives four times a year to discuss employment figures. According to CCOM staff member Ron Grossman, WGM was prompted to accept the settlement when CCOM threatened to file a petition to deny the stations license renewals with the FCC.

CCOM had found that of 59 policy-

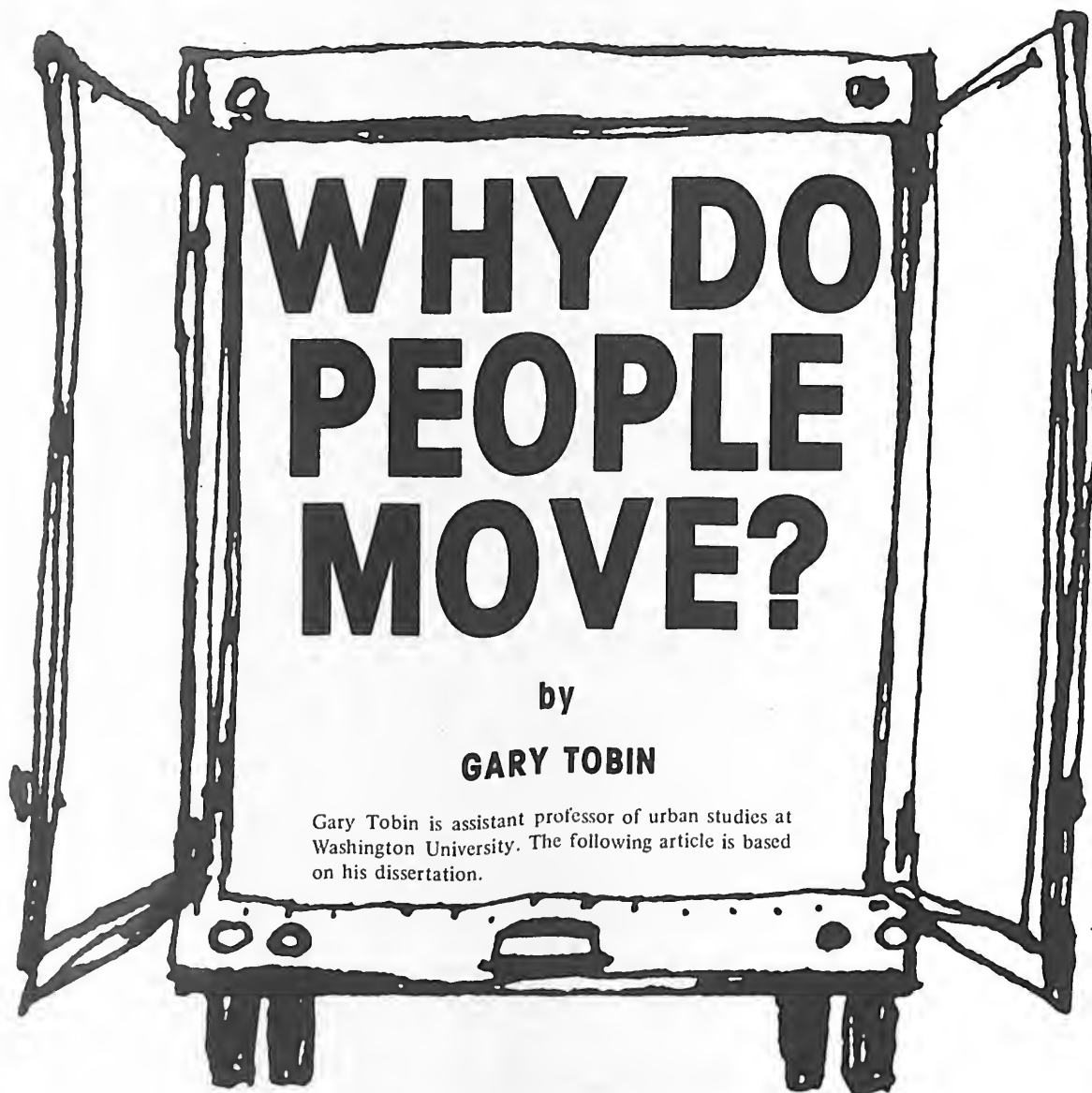
making and managerial positions at WGN, only 1 was filled by a minority group (Latino) 9 by women and none by blacks, compared to the 20% black population of metropolitan Chicago. In addition, the total number of women employees at WGN had declined 28%.

WGN did not accept CCOM's initial request for quotas; however, both groups succeeded in avoiding litigation before the FCC. CCOM feels it has won a victory.

Mrs. Ruby Koelling, a member of the St. Louis County Transportation Commission, has proposed to abolish all fares on the St. Louis area bus system. The proposal was explained to the Commission by the county's public transportation coordinator. Fares now produce about \$14.5 million a year, about 35% of the operating revenue. The balance is provided by St. Louis city and county. A doubling of the tax would replace the 35% as well as provide for new equipment and other improvements. The half cent tax is enacted by the state legislature. If it would be adopted, St. Louis would be the first city to adopt a free fare bus system.

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Gary Tobin is assistant professor of urban studies at Washington University. The following article is based on his dissertation.

The desirability of integration of the races has never been a critical criterion in past attempts to slow rapid racial change. Rather the prevention of enormous capital waste was the goal. When undergoing rapid transition, housing is downgraded at a much faster rate than normal use would warrant. At least for this reason, the process of rapid racial transition should be of critical importance to policy makers throughout the private and public sectors.

The decision to move was studied in two areas. first, Walnut Park, is a neighborhood within the limits of St. Louis City. The second, University City, is an inner-ring suburb bordering the city. Both areas shared one common characteristic in 1970: proximity to the main black sector of the metropolitan area. Since the beginning of the 20th century, blacks have moved primarily within a north-westwardly corridor away from the center of the city. By 1960, the western fringe of this sector had reached University City and the northern edge had bordered Walnut Park. By 1970, both areas found themselves in the process of becoming all black.

Other than this proximity to transition, Walnut Park and University City share few common traits. The two communities differ substantially. As a result, the process of racial change in the two communities is quite different. The 1960 census shows that both areas were virtually 100% white at the beginning of the decade. In 1970, Walnut Park was over 30% black, with some areas about 80% black, while University City was only about 20%

black, with no census tract over 50% black. By the mid-1970s, racial change continued unabated in Walnut Park. University City, however, had achieved some measure of integration. This difference provides rich insights for policy makers.

Walnut Park is in the northwest corner of St. Louis City. An area with 21,721 inhabitants in 1960, Walnut Park is separated from the rest of the city by an interstate highway. In addition, parts of the area are further isolated by a second important buffer: the largest tract of cemetery space in the metropolitan area. The western section of Walnut Park was built after World War II and is composed largely of single-family residences. This section of Walnut Park resembles most bungalow suburbs of the 1950s. The eastern section of Walnut Park, however, consists of housing built in the 1930s and before. Like much of St. Louis City, Walnut Park contained a large Catholic population with a strong parish organization.

Racial in-movement produced panic and flight in some areas of Walnut Park in the 1960s. The 1970 census shows that two tracts in the area changed from 100% white to about 80% black between 1960 and 1970. In addition, few whites moved into Walnut Park. Most of the white population left in Walnut Park was elderly, or financially unable to move, or both.

University City experienced much of its growth after World War II. By 1960, University City had some 50,000 inhabitants and was one of the five largest cities in Mis-

souri. While University City housing consisted primarily of single family residences, large numbers of rental units were also available.

Education levels for the two communities are far apart. The highest educational level reached in Walnut Park was the lowest level reached in University City. Income levels are also sharply different. The lowest level of a University City census tract in 1970 is above the highest level in a Walnut Park Tract.

Each of the Walnut Park tracts have a majority of blue-collar workers. In contrast, only one tract in University City has a majority of blue-collar workers.

Other features set University City apart from Walnut Park. Washington University and the Clayton Business District, an area that rivals the St. Louis business district, are contiguous to University City on its southern border. University City is an independent municipality, enabling it to establish laws and take initiative to prevent panic and deterioration of its housing stocks. These goals have been successful. Third, in 1969, University City was the center of Jewish population in St. Louis. Except for the reform temples, every synagogue except one in St. Louis County still remains in University City. The liberal character of this ethnic group, a commitment at least in principle to integration by many Jews, and a reluctance to abandon the traditional ethnic turf, prevented a short term panic of the largest sector of the University City population.

By 1970, the two eastern tracts in Walnut Park had become 49% black and 79% black. The three other tracts had black populations ranging from 9% to 20%. In University City, the eastern and northern tracts had black populations ranging from 26% to 46% of the total tract population. The southern and western tracts had black populations ranging from a high of 15% to a low of 5% of the tract total.

Although substantial differences are present between tracts within both Walnut Park and University City, the two areas as a whole can be compared and contrasted. Walnut Park is a low-middle income, working class area that has experienced white panic and flight. University City is a middle-class, largely ethnic community undergoing orderly, racial transition while retaining its middle-class character. Importantly, areas undergoing the most rapid racial transition in University City are the neighborhoods that demographically resemble Walnut Park. Yet, even the blue-collar neighborhoods in University City have not substantially deteriorated.

Policy has played a major role in preventing decay. The institutional response in University City has been an attempt to "stabilize" the community. For Walnut Park, there has been no such effort. As a result, the two communities have very different futures. Walnut Park will likely be incorporated into the ghetto. University City, however, has become the first integrated community in the St. Louis area. The process of racial change has not become a process of neighborhood deterioration.

## 5 Reasons Why People Move

Why do people move in a racially changing neighborhood? What are the elements which produce racial segregation?

Rather than one, it is a package of five variables which determine whether a decision is made to move. They are: housing, race or ethnic group, social character of an area, the housing market, and the policy of lending and governmental institutions.

While it always has been known that the neighborhood into which people move reflects their preferences in terms

of association, their ability to pay, and their evaluation of how an area will develop, the five sets of variables combine in a process which is much more complex than previous observations seem to indicate.

For example, race is certainly a key factor — but less so than economics or class. "Flight" is less a motivation than "aspirations." And, most important, it is not the presence of any one factor but the interrelationship and perception of the variables which co-determine whether a family will or will not move.

The question of race, specifically blacks, in a neighborhood becomes part of the decision to move, but is not the cause for most people. When asked "Had blacks not moved into University City would you have stayed," only 9 percent responded definitely, and another 17 percent stated that they probably would have stayed, a total of 26 percent. About 27 percent of the respondents said they probably would not have stayed and another 20 percent said that they definitely would have moved anyway. Clearly, race plays a role in the decision to move, but it is not necessarily the overriding factor.

First, individuals choose to move into, away from, or avoid a particular area after making some assessment of the character of the "amenities package." This package includes the housing, the support services in the area, and geographic location of the neighborhood. Movers do not choose a location solely on the basis of a single amenity, but assess an aggregate package in which urban services are critical. The deterioration of any *one* amenity in the bundle, or perception of deterioration, may produce instability and decay of the neighborhood.

The most important services in the amenities bundle are law enforcement, schools, and street maintenance and trash collection. Contrary to many popular beliefs, other services, such as public transportation, matter very little to most movers.

Race is the second variable responsible for rapid population transition. Many individuals prefer racial segregation. This desire may be stated as the preference for living *with* one's own racial or ethnic group. In addition, many individuals prefer class separation. Indeed, the desire for class identity in a neighborhood is often stronger than the preference for racial homogeneity.

The social character of an area is the third determinant in the racial transition process. It includes income level, educational level, religious and class character of the neighborhood.

The context of the housing market is the fourth factor that affects racially changing areas. The condition of the housing stock will partially determine if prices allow lower-class persons to move into an area. How much housing costs will influence how much risk the individual homeowner will take.

The policy context constitutes the fifth set of factors. Lending institutions influence the quality of housing stocks by granting or denying home improvement loans or mortgage money in transition areas. Like many individuals, financial institutions often consider racially changing areas too risky for investment. Realtors are influential by steering blacks and whites to specific areas of a metropolis. The federal government has had a profound effect on racial housing patterns. Housing policies, especially FHA loan practices, reinforce existing patterns. The Federal courts have added a new dimension to the transition process with busing to achieve racial integration. Individual municipalities, neighborhood organizations, and school systems all affect the rates of racial change within their own and adjacent communities.

## The Push and Pull

Individuals move for a variety of reasons. Over 70 percent of those sampled in University City and Walnut Park checked three or more reasons.

The most frequently checked factors were "wanted bigger home" (38 percent) and "property values declining" (38 percent). The desire for a bigger home reflects the rising income of an upwardly-mobile community. About 33% checked wanting "a better home" as a factor in their decision to move from University City. Only 8 percent checked "wanted a smaller home." 25 percent of the movers "wanted to own a home instead of an apartment" or vice versa.

Housing is a major investment, making concern with property values not a euphemism for racial prejudice, but a real concern for both white and black homeowners.

Protection of social and financial values was perceived as essential for many University City out-movers. But perceptions of racial prejudice and minimizing risk are distinctly different to the mover.

Push factors played a major role in the decision to move for many respondents. About 7 percent listed "rising taxes" in University City as a factor and 21 percent checked "rising crime." A large number of respondents, 31 percent, checked "neighborhood running down," 22 percent listed "dissatisfaction with schools," and 29 percent said "blacks moving in" had something to do with their move.

The remainder of questions listed and checked were primarily "pull factors." About 8 percent listed the desire "to be near place of work" as a factor; another 19 percent listed the desire to be near "family and friends," and another 9 percent to be near "their own kind."

The interaction of these factors can be seen in urban services. Perceptions of urban services change dramatically when race is involved. When blacks begin to move into an area, or constitute a large proportion of the population, assumptions are often made by both blacks and whites about the quality of services in that area. Services are usually believed to be inferior or declining. Self-fulfilling prophecies sometimes occur: rapid population changes take place, tax bases decline, and ultimately the services that are supported by those taxes also decline in quality. Furthermore, perceptions of "quality" are often determined by the racial and class character of an area rather than some objective measure of the actual services in question. "Good" schools are often defined simply as white schools, or an unsafe neighborhood as one where young blacks reside. In many cases, then, the *perception* of the quality of urban services is more important in terms of behavior than is the actual service.

## Deciding Where to Move

The choice of a location is determined by housing appropriate to the family cycle, perceptions of neighborhood condition, safety, and the quality of schools. The last three involve the delivery of an urban service. Although most movers mention these factors in their decision, few have any means of assessing the quality of these services. Proxies are used, with race being a major one, to assess quality of services.

Acceptable housing varies with income level. Individuals with incomes from \$7,500-\$20,000 tend to be most dissatisfied. This distribution is primarily due to perceptions of financial risk. Individuals in the middle-income brackets have nearly all their equity in their houses and fear racial intrusion the most.

Crime is important in the decision to move. Respon-

dents with the lowest incomes saw more crime in their neighborhoods.

Neighborhood deterioration is another important factor in the decision to move. Those moving out of University City and Walnut Park believed they received a better housing bargain than those who moved into those areas.

Attitudes about housing values show that both University City and Walnut Park out-movers believed their former location was on the decline.

Schools are another key component and are more important for younger families. Those with higher incomes and more education were apt to value schools more than those with little education and income.

Because the socio-economic differences between Walnut Park and University City are so striking, the attitudes of the in-movers and out-movers in each are also substantially dissimilar. While the same four factors — housing, schools, neighborhood condition, and safety — are the most often cited the order of importance of these four factors differ. Respondents in the survey were asked to rank the following nine variables that might have affected their decision to move: housing, neighbors, job access, transportation availability, schools, crime, neighborhood condition, neighborhood facilities, and community services.

Some variables made little difference. Contrary to the belief of many architects, designers, and planners neighborhood facilities, such as libraries and parks, were not important to any group. Neither were they important by age, income, education, or other grouping.

Neighborhood services, such as trash collection and street repairs, also were not highly ranked.

Public transportation availability had about the same importance to all four groups.

Neighbors and job access were somewhat important locational factors to all four groups.

While these five factors were of relatively little importance, housing was important to all groups.

In addition, schools, safety, neighborhood condition, and all urban services vary widely in importance for the four groups of movers. For example, schools were most important to University City movers.

The dynamics of the actual move vary somewhat for the four groups of movers. Few movers were assisted or influenced by community organizations, most used realtors. This is quite significant since real estate agents co-determine perceptions of neighborhoods.

## Arresting Racial Transition

Walnut Park continues the racial trends of residential St. Louis — black in-migration, re-segregation, and incorporation into the major black enclave of the metropolitan area. These patterns, however, have been broken in University City. In the middle section of University City, a very different, and indeed unique, phenomenon is occurring. While blacks continue to move into this area, the number of whites moving in is even greater. The three elementary schools in this section of the city remain racially mixed. For the first time in the transition process in St. Louis, significant white-migration into a racially changing area has been in progress. What panic that might have occurred is temporarily stopped, and for the present, does not appear imminent. Rates of turnover have substantially decreased from the mid-1960s.

For whites who are moving in and middle-class whites and blacks who have stayed in University City, expectations have somehow been stabilized that rapid transition will not occur. Of course, part of this stabilization is self-



fulfilling: many residents have begun to "believe" that integration has been achieved.

The uniqueness of University City in arresting rapid transition in some areas is due to the nature of the city itself. The social context is conducive to stability. Overwhelming middle-class, middle-income, and well educated, the population as a whole was the least likely to panic upon racial in-migration. Second, the housing market favored stability. Most of the housing stock was in excellent condition. Third, the policy context worked in University City's favor. The city is an independently incorporated municipality with an autonomous school system, with the ability to design policy. Fourth, the city offers attractive amenities. The city is centrally located in the county, with close proximity to Clayton, Washington University, and the University of Missouri-St. Louis.

University City's success was also due to the soaring costs of new housing in the 1970s which made the housing prices in University City very attractive for white middle-income buyers. In addition, since the original population did not panic to a large degree, some areas seemed stable enough for white in-movement. Moreover, the political context was conducive to innovative policy, and University City did just that. Indeed, University City's success can be traced largely to the policies that this municipality has initiated.

These policies should be reviewed in the context of the major findings of this study. First, the data show that people move for a complex set of reasons. Choosing a residential location involves more than picking a house. It includes the purchase of a physical dwelling unit, a neighborhood, a school system, and other amenities. These amenities include intangibles — social status and class homogeneity.

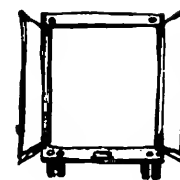
Involved in the decision to move is a complex assessment of personal, financial, and social desires. But rarely is the decision to move made on the basis of some singular, overriding concern. Indeed, most individuals are aware that they move for many reasons.

Although the racial factor is frequently stated as an important variable in the decision to move, most families do not relocate simply because they do not want to live with blacks or vice versa. In many cases, black in-movement does not precipitate a move, but does begin a complex evaluation of the community that often leads to a move. These same processes apply to decisions to move to or avoid a transition neighborhood.

The decision to move is largely tied to expectations about housing, race, and class stability. The greater the uncertainty about the future of an area, the greater the inclination to move. An area cannot have stability unless the residents begin to expect stability. The irony of public perception as a key factor is obvious.

Concern with race is primarily a concern with class. The most hostile racists were those who saw all blacks as lower class and a direct threat to social and economic stability. For most, the implications of racial change were not necessarily of major concern.

The city's strict enforcement of the occupancy permit and housing code laws, the first such laws instituted in the United States, helped stabilize property values. Over the past few years they have begun to rise significantly. Before a housing unit can be sold and occupied by a new resident, it must meet structural standards set by University City. The number of persons allowed in such units is limited. Consequently, the housing stock remains in good condition. Maintenance costs cannot be deferred nor can capital improvement costs be avoided until the unit is sold. With expectations stabilized, owners feel less risk in



maintaining their property. Lenders are less reluctant to make loans for improvement and sales.

With higher housing prices, the poor have been effectively barred from entry into University City. In effect, city policies discriminate against classes but not races. Since most individuals fear lower class black in-movement, and not blacks as a race, the community feeling that the poor are not moving into the area further adds stability and attractiveness for potential white, middle-class in-movers.

Some rental units in bad condition in the center of the city have been removed from the market. While this policy adds to the overall problem of feeding populations into the transition process, the potential blight is being eliminated. Obviously, equity among income levels is not a concern, and cannot be if racial integration is to be achieved first.

The police force has been expanded, become more visible, and launched a public relations campaign. This essential service remains highly visible. Crime rates have been kept in check. Expectations about safety in University City have been stabilized.

The city as a whole has kept services good. Streets are repaired and cleaned, lighting is kept in working order, trash collections are good. A paper recycling system has been established, an open air produce market has been constructed, block parties and civic events are common. The booster spirit, the preservation urge, and the commitment to stabilize the community are all strong.

University City has managed to develop some integrated areas, arresting runaway racial transition. The continued success of University City depends partly on continued strict enforcement of its housing laws, and the general continued feeling that stability has been achieved. It also depends on the changes and policies implemented in the schools.

As of October 1974, of the eight elementary schools in the district, four were 90 percent or more black. Three schools were between 45 percent and 60 percent black, two of these in central University City and one in the southern portion of the city. One elementary school in the southern portion of the city was only 13 percent black. The junior high schools and high schools were between 57 percent and 67 percent black. Overall, 65 percent of the students in the University City schools were black in 1974, up from 16 percent in 1967, and 42 percent in 1970. Thus, while rapid racial change in the city has been arrested in some areas, the process has run its normal course in the schools.

Schools are crucial as an indicator of the racial and social mix of an area, and as an attraction for young families with children to add stability. An overwhelming number of blacks in the schools could become a deterrent to attracting whites who determine the degree of integration of the area. The schools could be the "tipping" mechanism in University City.

School policies have been less than appealing to the population. In 1970, busing, which is always an explosive issue, was discussed as a means to achieve racial balance in the elementary schools. As most schools turned black, the plan was no longer conceivable. Grade centers were proposed, and some were implemented. With declining

enrollment, two elementary schools were closed. The schools have had to make radical changes. But since the public relations of the schools have been poor, these changes are interpreted by some of the population as wild experimentation. In addition, rumors of crime, lack of discipline, and declining quality are pervasive.

Dissatisfaction with the schools begins another self-fulfilling prophecy. Education is financed by property taxes that must be approved by two-thirds of the voters. Over the past few years, tax issues were voted down by University City residents for the first time in two decades, because the older white population did not want to finance schools their children no longer used, and because blacks and whites were unwilling to support an inferior system. Of course, such a feeling will indeed produce an inferior system.

The issue of the schools must be addressed quickly. Within the city, University City should promote the schools as it did the police and safety.

### The Future

In the long run, University City school officials, elected personnel, or citizens groups, should bring suit to eliminate the University City school system. Both the Ladue school system to the west, and the Clayton school system to the south are almost exclusively white and quite wealthy.

Should the suit be won, large scale busing between the three school districts would be necessary, achieving some racial balance in the three districts. Most neighborhood schools would be eliminated in all three school systems. In this sense, the price would be very high for many persons who value neighborhood schools. (Since this study was completed, the University City School Board had suggested some measure of cooperation with Clayton, but the initiative was coldly rejected. Later University City parents and students were also critical of this move.)

Of course, such a policy might trigger massive out-migrations of Clayton and Ladue residents. Yet given the present housing market conditions, such a movement is unlikely in these high-income areas.

If such a suit is not initiated and won, and the public relations campaign is not successful, there are four scenarios for the future of University City. The first is that orderly transition will continue. The schools will serve as a deterrent to young white families with children, and the school system and the city will become progressively black over the next ten years. With strict enforcement of housing codes, plus the maintenance of city services, however, property values will likely be maintained and predominantly black, but stable middle-class areas established for a longer period of time. Racial transition will occur, but not substantial class transition. Blight and abandonment would be unlikely. This is accepted as a viable alternative, particularly by blacks.

A second scenario would have voters reject a series of bond and tax elections to finance the schools. In this case, the schools would deteriorate, forcing large scale out-migration of middle-class families. A glut on the market would cause property values to decline, and the subsequent transition pathologies that University City has avoided might become a reality.

A third scenario would find the status quo maintained, with a predominantly black school system, and a racially mixed city. Blacks with children would use the school system while whites with children would use private schools. In addition, the majority of whites living in University City would be childless couples, or persons with

preschool children who would live in University City until their children entered school.

In the fourth scenario, the present black majority school population would move through the schools, with enough substantial white in-migration to begin to re-establish some racial balance in the schools. In this future, the black school population would peak at the present, and racial balance could be achieved as white children re-entered the school system.

Even assuming University City can solve its school problems, translating the success of University City as a model for action by other communities is difficult. Other communities would require all the necessary characteristics in terms of location, housing stock, population, and political autonomy. What worked for University City is likely to work only for other University Cities. A national policy of imitating University City as a measure to combat rapid transition and blight is not feasible.

The contrast between Walnut Park and University City emphasizes this point. For example, the same national housing market conditions that helped stabilize University City in the last few years did little for the Walnut Park area. Walnut Park is part of St. Louis City, where housing codes are not strictly enforced. The housing stock was older and less sound. The population was working class and poorly educated. Yet even if most of these variables had been changed, the chances for stability in Walnut Park still would have been quite slim. The entire community, environment, and policy must be working in an area's favor.

Services are critical. Yet perceptions of services are often more important than the quality of the services themselves, especially in racially changing areas. Successful integration and preservation policies will largely depend on the ability of governments to provide high quality urban services throughout a metropolitan area. University City shows that if services are kept good, and housing prices kept stable, racial integration and the arrest of rapid transition can be achieved.

Ultimately, the policy context emerges as the most important component in the taxonomy of racially changing areas. Federal housing policies strongly influence the housing market, as do federal tax policies and transportation planning. Financial institutions and the real estate industry have profound effects on individual areas. But as the data in this study show, much of what happens in a racially changing area is dependent upon the nature of local jurisdictions and the policies, or absence of policy, that are adopted within them.

This leads to the final point: the dynamics of rapid racial change, which does not benefit any community, race or metropolis, is a process that is not confined or constrained by political boundaries. Yet the metropolis is politically fragmented, and differentiated by structure, constituency, and efficiency. Thus, while much of the dynamic of racially changing areas is dependent upon local governments, many factors prevent most of these governments from affecting the process. School systems cross municipal boundaries. Many governments do not have the capital necessary to offer adequate services. Many jurisdictions lack the resources to develop and implement housing policy — research, planning, and enforcement staffs are necessary. Rapid transition must be dealt with by political entities that often are powerless to deal with the problem. While University City has solved many of its problems, most of urban America is not like University City. The arrest of wasteful transition, if it is to occur in other isolated cases, will not take place at the local level.

# Black removal opens up urban centers /

JACK KIRKLAND

**B**lacks are about to embark upon a modern "trail of tears." The original trail was the torturous march forced upon several tribes of native Americans by the U.S. Cavalry to "open up" land for white settlers. Today's march is forced upon blacks by an economic conspiracy to "open up" urban centers for redevelopment. Manifest Destiny has been replaced by Eminent Domain.

The goal is to rebuild, refurbish, and renovate the cities. Everyone knows that blacks will not benefit from this in any significant numbers.

Like the native Americans who were moved from prime prairie land, so blacks today are moved from prime urban land — all under the color of law. Blacks abandon their neighborhoods after urban services deteriorate. Then these communities are officially stamped blighted — but ultimately resurrected for whites under Community Development Programs, the great grandson of "Urban Renewal" and the grandson of "Model Cities."

Why? Because black voices are muffled and are not heard in the body politic. They move so often that they cannot strike roots and establish a political base. Any involved and vocal participation will safeguard the existence of blacks as a viable people. In the past, when naked hostility prescribed their geographical boundaries, they were motivated to consolidate and make effective use of the franchise. Possibly, the imminent, though subtle, threat of deportation from prime urban land today, stifles their inclination to use the franchise effectively. But staying at home unregistered will perpetuate their condition as "urban nomads," picking up again and again at the whim of the bulldozer.

Blacks are bedazzled by bipartisan committees and commissions espousing concern, holding impressive investigations, dispensing copious reports about their plight and by some of the remedial legislation. But this asserted commitment has never been institutionalized; or blacks would not have to backtrack repeatedly, recall, replay, or regroup these so-called "claimed victories."

Unless blacks become politically more astute and cease to count on promises conjured up in four-year cycles, they will forfeit the meager gains of the "second reconstruction."

Blacks have had their fair share of promises without the instrument to enforce the agreement: freedom if we would assist George against the British... forty acres and a mule in aiding the Union cause... jobs and union cards for

support of the labor movement... permanent work in northern factories to help the cause of freedom to "make the world safe for democracy... equal opportunity in education after the U.S. Supreme Court "land mark" decision... true social justice, once again, following the turbulent sixties... employment in the mid-seventies if we become academically qualified. Unless blacks are in or near the center of policy formulation, their rights will be only partially fulfilled. The census, interestingly enough, always manages to undercount blacks so as not to forecast their true power.

In a bureaucratic structure, honeycombed with political fiefdoms, not one of which blacks rule; in a society conceived in racism and dedicated to the proposition of classism, no presidential aspirant, regardless of his charisma, or his distance left of center, no political party, irrespective of its acclaim, is going to be their salvation. Contrary to the now popular opinion, not even isolated black faces, perceived to be in mayoralty or other lofty places, will make one centile of a difference to the black masses.

There is one and only one issue for blacks — social justice and what role it plays in politics and the economy.

Politically, blacks cannot hope to vote themselves to freedom or full citizenship; nevertheless, the vote is a hedge to insure blacks against others turning back the clock to the earlier, more excruciating days. The most stable assurance against such an eventuality is economic viability, the larynx of the political sector.

Work is the medium one uses to negotiate one's dignity. But, blacks are used as "weather vanes" for industry, being periodically hired and summarily fired. Unemployment would not be a national problem were it confined to black America.

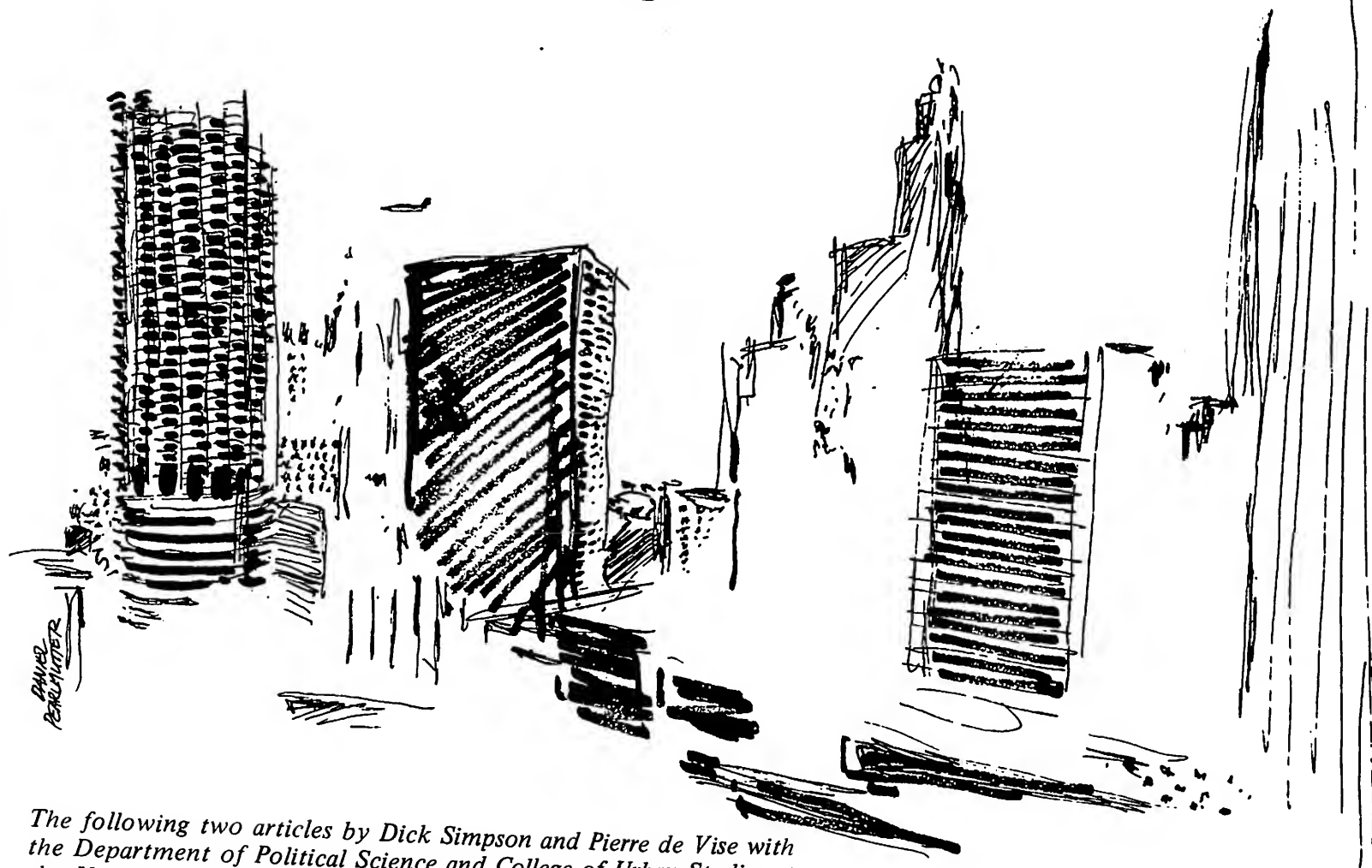
Without economic viability, blacks will continue to be at the mercy of land speculators and redevelopers, who buy the land on which their homes are located, aggregate the parcels and build motels, factories, convention centers and new neighborhoods for middle-income whites. Without a policy of social justice and full employment for all, blacks will continue to carry an inordinate and insurmountable burden. With social justice permeating all institutions, systems, and services, blacks can grimace and shoulder their share of the maladies which befall all citizens.

*Jack Kirkland is on leave as director of black studies at Washington University*

# The future of Chicago

**A PROFILE OF  
SOCIAL CHANGE**

**PIERRE DE VISE**



*The following two articles by Dick Simpson and Pierre de Vise with the Department of Political Science and College of Urban Studies at the University of Illinois (Chicago Circle) explore the status of life in Chicago, what it is today and what it could be tomorrow. In view of the fundamental political realignment Chicago is experiencing, these long-range views assume extraordinary importance. They place in perspective the direction and purpose of political change. Simpson and de Vise are editing a series of papers and speeches by other prominent Chicagoans which will cover other aspects of the "Future of Chicago" in coming issues.*

## **A BLUEPRINT FOR POLITICAL CHANGE**

**DICK SIMPSON**



One hundred and six years ago, a three-and-a-half square mile area of Chicago was devastated by the Great Fire of October, 1871. That fire killed 250 people and reduced 18,000 buildings to ashes. Last year, over 1,000 Chicagoans were killed by fire and homicides, approximately 12,000 dwellings were destroyed by fire and demolition, and 35 square miles of the city consisted of dead and dying communities. Most of the area ravaged by the Great Fire was rebuilt within two years, but Chicagoans in 1977 will have to wait many years for the phoenix to rise from the ashes of its 35 square miles of wasteland.

Chicago had a much more promising future in October, 1871 than it has in October, 1977. In addition to the 35 square miles of dead and dying land, tens of thousands of residential, commercial, and industrial buildings scattered in the remaining 200 square miles of the city are obsolete, substandard, vacant and unfit for human use. Altogether, about two-thirds of the city's 5,000 industrial buildings are obsolete, unsuitable or inadequate for industrial use. Half of the 570 miles of commercial streets along the old streetcar lines are obsolete and unneeded, and over half of the million plus housing units are more than half a century old.

Between 1960 and 1970 (the last two census years), Chicago lost a half million whites but gained one-third of a million blacks; lost 211,000 jobs, but gained 90,000 welfare recipients; lost 140,000 private housing units, but gained 19,000 public housing units. These demographic, housing and economic changes were accompanied by a deteriorating tax base. In that decade, the property tax base rose by only about 25%, failing even to keep pace with the cost of living (which went up 31%), or with the

cost of government (which went up over 60%). Along with rising municipal costs, Chicago suffered a deteriorating school system, an escalating crime rate, growing unemployment, and increasing racial inequities.

In the sixties the suburbs gained 800,000 whites, 350,000 housing units, and half a million jobs. Certainly, suburban municipal costs have also risen, but the tax base has increased correspondingly. The quality of most suburban schools is far superior to that of Chicago schools. Suburban crime rates and unemployment rates, too, have gone up somewhat, but are still far lower than those prevailing in the City.

### 60,000 Leave Per Year

Partly because of the recession, conditions have worsened considerably since the census year, 1970. The Bureau of the Census estimates that Chicago, during the 1970 decade, is suffering a population decline at an annual rate of 60,000 people. Not only has Chicago lost population and jobs, but the entire metropolitan area has suffered a similar loss.

These are very slight declines, nothing to be too alarmed about, except in that they contrast with the previous trend, which had been one of continuous growth in employment and population for the metropolitan area, as well as for the nation at large. This may be partially due to the recession, but when we look at the industries that are being affected, we may wonder whether there are, perhaps, not some new, long-standing, repellent forces at work which make the Chicago area less attractive.

One of these forces might be the quality of the association between Chicago and its suburbs. Most suburbanites hate the City; residents of the outlying counties hate

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Politics and government must change if Chicago's economy is to become more diversified and modern, if our society is to end discrimination, if we are to alleviate the misery of poverty, and if we are to reunite the city and the suburbs. Our machine style of politics which grew up under Mike McDonald after the Chicago fire of 1871 and our antiquated local government which grew up to meet the peculiar restraints of an old state constitution and our society at the turn of the century are simply inadequate to meet current needs.

Citizen participation is the key to modern politics and government. Even drastic structural changes will be supported if they allow citizens more effective control over their government.

During the last century, metropolitan Chicago has spawned hundreds of ad hoc, unrelated, and ever more remote governments in a plethora of special districts, cities, towns, and counties. A citizen of Chicago pays taxes to at least nine governments and in some parts of the metropolitan area citizens pay taxes to as many as thirteen. Yet the multiplicity of governments serves only to make them more unaccountable for their actions.

Chicago's city government is almost perfectly mismatched with its mounting social and economic problems. On the one hand, it is so large and complex as to be remote from citizens. On the other, it is too small and fragmented to handle regional economic problems and has too little money to handle our social problems. As citizens become more alienated and frustrated, they can turn either to violence or retreat into apathy surrendering

even the pretense of democratic government.

### Neighborhood Government

The scope and power of local government must be expanded so that it can effectively govern a metropolitan region with serious social and economic problems while citizen participation must be expanded by breaking governmental problems down to the level where they can be understood and brought under control.

*The structural solution is to form neighborhood governments in the wards of the city and in the suburbs under the broader umbrella of a strong metropolitan government.* These two units of government will in time replace the existing city, township, county, and special district governments. The new neighborhood governments would contain three components: (1) assemblies and community zoning boards, (2) little city halls, and (3) ombudsmen. The new metropolitan government would contain the traditional elements of American government: (1) a mayor or chief executive, (2) a legislature of one hundred representatives, and (3) an appointed judiciary.

Neighborhood government is especially important because it allows for citizen participation in a government which has become continually more remote; it is the best level at which to deliver sensitively and effectively most city services; and it is the only level at which an ombudsman and an elected representative can easily be contacted in person.

Neighborhood government offers a way to divide up government so that citizens can know that their individual

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Cook County, and even many people who live in Cook County hate it because of its association with Chicago. In fact, some of the townships in Northwest Cook County want to secede from Cook County, wishing to take the name "Jefferson" County. This Northwest Cook County sector is the area that has had the biggest boom in jobs, gaining about 200,000 jobs and a half million people during the 1960 decade.

To further explain the lack of growth, we can also look at some of the trends in the decline in employment. The unemployment rate has greatly increased for the metropolitan area, doubling in the last year alone. It now stands at 10%, as compared to 5% a year ago. It is even worse for Chicago itself; the unemployment rate is now 12%, compared to 6% a year ago. In a way, Chicago residents are being hit by the recession later and harder than is the rest of the nation. This was also the experience of the Chicago area during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The hope is that the present loss of people and jobs in the SMSA can be attributed largely to the recession and does not presage a permanent decline. There is, however, the possibility of such a decline, not only for Chicago, but for the entire metropolitan area, as well as for most other industrial centers of the north central and northeast regions.

### Welfare Rolls Double

The recession has also contributed to the doubling of Chicago's welfare rolls since 1970. One-fifth of Chicago's households are currently receiving public assistance, compared to one-tenth in 1970. In addition, about 6% of the heads of households in the labor force are unemployed. The figure of 12% unemployed mentioned previously was

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views and input counts. Dependency upon the mass media or precinct captains can be lessened. Elected representatives can be held accountable to the voters and the community which they are elected to represent. Many decisions that most affect local communities can be made directly by the citizens themselves.

This is not abstract political theory. In the 44th Ward in Chicago, nearly all the necessary components of neighborhood government have been created and proven effective. The principal component is a Ward Assembly. The 44th Ward Assembly, which was begun in January, 1972, is comprised of two delegates elected from each of 61 precincts and one from each community organization with over 25 members in the ward. These two hundred or so delegates meet with their alderman once a month, and by a two-thirds vote they mandate and control his vote in the City Council, determine what projects he and his staff undertake, and decide what new legislation he should introduce in the City Council.

The Ward Assembly is, in fact, the proper place to decide many policies. Where should curbs be replaced in the Ward? A certain number of linear feet of curbing each year is assigned to the ward. The alderman, if he chooses, can decide where those curbs will go. Citizens at the moment have no direct voice in the matter. Yet if replacing the curbs were part of a total effort along with tree planting and building inspections focused on a single section of the neighborhood, an area could be transformed overnight. This focusing of services and concentration of efforts are not possible in a citywide government with 45,000 employees. The average city employee cannot

for the entire labor force; other members of households (spouse and children) have a much higher unemployment rate. Putting the two together, we see that about one-fourth of Chicago's households are presently not in the labor force or unemployed.

As we would expect, minorities suffer considerably more. About one out of every three minority heads of households are on welfare, and about one out of six are unemployed. Among members of minority groups, close to half of all the heads of households in Chicago are either on welfare or are unemployed.

Further, Chicago is the most racially segregated city in the United States. For instance, in the six-county SMSA, 90% of the area's blacks live in Chicago. Within the City, about 90% of Chicago blacks live in neighborhoods 90% or more black. Chicago's suburbs are no exception. More than 90% of suburban blacks live in predominantly black neighborhoods. This is due in part to differences in services and zoning, although it is in large part also due to racial discrimination. To understate the obvious, many suburbs and communities do not welcome blacks.

A few communities use drastic techniques to exclude blacks from their borders (as witnessed by the case of a Latino who recently moved to Cicero and was mistaken for a black person; he was forced, by bombing, to move). In most cases, the simple knowledge that the neighbors would not welcome blacks has been sufficient to keep them out.

### The Problem: Core Cities

This problem, of course, is not limited to Chicago. Differences among the states in public housing and other services (like OEO and Model Cities) and in zoning and housing costs dictate that minority persons on welfare

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know all neighborhoods, and even if city employees could decide what was best, it is important that local residents decide what should be done for them.

### Ward Assembly

The first component of neighborhood government then is a ward assembly characterized by debate, deliberation, and decision-making authority. It is the neighborhood legislature — a public place where people can gather as the neighborhood government. It is not only a place to decide directly where curbs should be put or trees planted, it is also the proper birthplace of major legislation to provide creative solutions to general problems of the metropolitan region. For example, the 44th Ward Assembly in 1974 confronted the problem of redlining by city financial institutions — that is, a refusal by some institutions to make home loans in Chicago communities. Through study by the Ward Assembly finance committee and a series of public hearings, a proposed anti-redlining ordinance was drafted which the alderman agreed to introduce. The ordinance required financial institutions which wanted part of the city government's \$100-\$200 million of deposits to sign a pledge not to redline and to reveal their deposits and loans by postal zip code zone. The ordinance was introduced in the Chicago City Council, amended, and became the first local anti-redlining ordinance in the country.

### Community Zoning Board

Coupled with a ward assembly should be a community

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will concentrate in large, settled, mostly northern cities, and be excluded from other urban areas. President Roosevelt, in the 1930s, said that the nation's number one problem was the South. I think that it would be more appropriate now to say that the nation's number one problem is the central core of our large cities.

Only a national policy can reverse the present redistribution of population. Since there is such an epidemic of people on welfare (and especially Aid to Dependent Children), we can see that the shifting of population is based more now on differential rates of welfare and public programs (like housing), than on employment opportunities, which were once much more of a factor. Lack of economic opportunity is largely the explanation for the huge welfare population in our cities.

The city by itself can do almost nothing to improve the environment for housing, schools, jobs, the fiscal tax base, etc., although there is some hope within the larger

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zoning board to handle all land use decisions — the planning of the physical future — at the neighborhood level. The 44th Ward Community Zoning Board has seven members appointed by the alderman and confirmed by the ward assembly. It holds local hearings on all zoning questions in the community in the evening or on weekends. In its two-year existence the board has handled 23 zoning cases. All of its decisions have been confirmed by the downtown board and the City Council which have retained legal authority for zoning cases.

The most spectacular case thus far has been to down-zone eastern Lakeview so as to prevent the further construction of highrise apartment buildings. In some sections of our community we have already reached the density of Tokyo. Working with the Lakeview Citizens Council and the Department of Development and Planning rezoning was accomplished after community zoning board hearings and an official vote by the Chicago City Council. This is an example of a community which agreed upon new zoning in order to preserve its own lifestyle, beating a multi-million dollar construction industry in the process.

### **Little City Halls**

The second component of neighborhood government consists of little city halls. In Chicago, ward superintendents are currently assigned to every ward. They have a ward yard to store equipment and offices from which they direct sanitation services. To convert these facilities to little city halls, it is only necessary to extend the ward superintendent's authority. He should direct (in addition

metropolitan areas. In fact, the few reliefs that are available to cities generally are unworkable because of the costs involved. For example, there has been much talk about writing off the cost of land for renewal to build new housing, new industries and shopping centers. Of course, the offer of "free" land or land at a reduced tax costs money, since that money is no longer available for the tax rolls.

The situation becomes more serious if the tax base is not keeping pace with the cost of living, and the tax rate in the city is increasing vis-à-vis the suburban rate. The average tax rate of all the suburbs is actually slightly higher than in the City. But in commercial and industrial activities, Chicago is not competing against all suburbs, but with certain tax-sheltered suburbs that specialize in very high levels of commercial and industrial activities and which have very few school children (education costs account for the bulk of the local tax dollar). The tax rate often remains very low and the average suburban tax rate is about one-fifth of that prevailing in Chicago.

Families are not as concerned as industry about the tax rate, but they have their own criteria for choosing a place to live. They certainly look at the quality of schools. Chicago public schools right now are a disaster. The typical Chicago school does not educate; it is a custodial place where the goal of the student is sheer physical survival. The Board of Education used to publish I.Q. scores until a few years ago. Embarrassing figures were showing that each year in school corresponded to a drop of almost one I.Q. point. A child surviving 12 years of public school would come out with an I.Q. almost ten points below the I.Q. he'd had at the beginning! The

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to garbage collection and street sweeping which he currently supervises) tree trimming, building code inspections, and the plethora of basic city services that most citizens worry about. With 45,000 city employees, the average citizen doesn't know whom to call to get his tree trimmed. On the other hand, the officials who do the trimming or the inspections know very little about a particular neighborhood. If the ward superintendent were in charge of most neighborhood services, he could be contacted directly at the ward office. Today, most communities get better service on garbage collection than on almost anything else because most community groups know that the ward superintendent is in charge of garbage collection and they hassle him until their collection problems are resolved.

The third component of neighborhood government should be an ombudsman directly working out of the alderman's office in every ward. The ombudsman should be charged with recording and investigating complaints and making sure that various city officials are performing their jobs properly. If there are substantive problems which require the aldermen to introduce corrective legislation, the ombudsman will have direct contact with him or her.

In a way, the Democratic committeemen function somewhat as ombudsmen by cutting through bureaucratic red tape in response to citizen requests. But these actions are "favors" rather than "responsibilities" and are extended to the faithful only. It is this very ability to act locally, in return for a vote, which gives such power to one party.

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reading tests were recently changed because the illiteracy rate was so high; two-fifths of the children were doing better by guessing than by trying to answer questions logically. Education is probably the number one advantage the suburbs have over the City.

Another advantage the suburbs have involves both households and businesses: the great preference for low density housing and low density buildings. The ideal American house is a single-family detached house, but most urban Americans today can no longer afford one: new, single-family houses average about \$50,000. They can, however, purchase the next best thing, a townhouse or condominium in the suburbs.

Chicago cannot offer many of the amenities which suburbanites take for granted. The large suburban shopping centers, for example, where most of the space is given over to parking, are impractical in the City.

Industry is also finding it more rewarding to move out of the City and into areas of low density industrial structure. Most workers live in the suburbs and they arrive in cars. Urban land is far too expensive to provide parking. Chicago's multi-storied buildings, too, are increasingly inappropriate for today's industrial needs. Machines have become much heavier and most industrial processes require strong hard floors on ground level.

Even if Chicago were to convert some of its 35 square miles of wasteland to cheap land for these purposes, very few families or industries who have left the City would return.

### The Core Problem

Any project which attempts to bring people back into

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Neighborhood government would allow city neighborhoods to gain the powers suburbs have enjoyed for long. Indeed, it is just this kind of powerful, community-oriented government in which citizens have a voice which encourages people to move to the suburbs.

### Metropolitan Government

Based on these neighborhoods in both city and suburbs, an overall Metropolitan Government can be created. Many of the intermediate governments — City of Chicago, Cook County, special districts such as the Park Board and Sanitary District — could become departments of Metro-government. Essentially, then, there would be two-tiers: Neighborhood Government at the community level and Metropolitan Government for the region. This would allow for planning and delivering services that are regional in scope, for a government with the authority to handle Chicago's massive economic and social problems, and for a tax base broad enough to pay the costs of government. Despite protests from the suburbs, taxes would have to be collected in the form of a metropolitan income tax and redistributed both to the larger metropolitan government and to the local communities which provide citizens services both at their job and at their residence.

The principal component of Metropolitan Government will be the legislative branch. This legislature would be composed of approximately 100 legislators each representing 60,000 constituents. Each legislator (or alderman) would be accountable to a local ward or township assembly. Approximately half of the legislators would represent

the City, but does not address itself to the problems which caused the exodus in the first place, will fail. One such major project in the south Loop, a part of Chicago's 21 Plan, was to build middle-class housing for approximately 140,000 people in this square mile area, hoping to attract suburbanites. This represents a density of over 100 times the average of suburban housing.

Certainly, there should be some kind of reclamation of the south Loop area — it is part of the 35 square miles of deadland — but families are not going to move back unless more is provided than buildings. They will be concerned, for example, about the school situation. The school serving that area is hardly an incentive for people to pay a minimum of \$250 per month rent (more for a family unit).

They will also be concerned about the crime rate; since 1965, homicides and major crimes have doubled and people are scared to death. What chance is there to attract new, middle-class residents to Chicago when more than half the present residents are afraid to walk out at night? Among the poorer Chicago residents, over 20 percent are terrified even in the daytime.

Yet, there are still more than three million people living in Chicago, and why are they staying? Half of those three million are captives: blacks, Latinos and other minorities who, for reasons of economics and discrimination, have nowhere else to go. The other half are special cases; it consists of whites who either live in all-white neighborhoods with good schools, such as on the Northwest Side, or those who are not involved with the public school system.

The more fortunate half of Chicago's population, then,

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city neighborhoods and half suburban. Special majorities might reasonably be required for adopting budgets and certain major legislation likely to have substantial impact.

Metropolitan Government can be democratic only if the legislative branch works openly and fairly. Certainly it would have to be much reformed from the existing Chicago City Council. These reforms would have to include (1) preventing legislators or the executive from holding party offices, (2) freedom of information for the public on both legislation and government documents, (3) a strong committee system which could guarantee a hearing on all legislation, (4) adequate legislative staff for all legislators, and (5) a fairer budget process.

The Mayor or Chief Executive of Metropolitan Government would have to be a strong executive without the party clout of former Mayor Daley. He would be able to appoint department heads with the advice and consent of the legislative branch, he would prepare the budget, and present legislation (introduced, however, only by legislators). There should be a limit upon the number of terms he can serve (like the President of the United States he should serve not more than 10 years). Subsidiary elected positions in the executive branch (such as the current City Clerk, City Treasurer, Sheriff, and County Assessor) should become appointed and the chief executive should be held responsible for total government performance by the electorate.

The local judicial branch should be chosen by merit selection. The bedsheets ballots we now use electing and retaining judges are a travesty. The party — that is, the

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FOCUS/Midwest



does not feel the full impact of the City's decline. Some of the more privileged tend to congregate in high-cost residential areas, such as the Gold Coast, Lincoln Park, Carl Sandburg and Sheffield. These are obviously booming areas, with older housing selling for far more than comparable housing would bring in the suburbs. If you examine this population, however, you'll find that it is not comprised of typical families. Only about two percent of the households in these communities have school-age children (and most of these attend private or parochial schools).

There is another group of white Chicagoans who live primarily in the detached, single-family housing I mentioned earlier. They are located, for the most part, in a relatively large area on the far Northwest Side of Chicago. The character of this neighborhood is much more suburban than anything you could find in a close-in suburb; you'd have to go far out into DuPage County to find similar housing. There are also a few small pockets remaining on the Southwest Side (such as Beverly, Morgan Park and Mount Greenwood).

Some changing areas in Chicago continue to be attractive, usually because they have a special ambiance of their own. Included in these neighborhoods are Prairie Shores, Lake Meadows, South Commons, Hyde Park-Kenwood and some parts of South Shore. They still contain a lot of whites, who typically work near home on the South Lake Front, in hospitals (such as Michael Reese and Mercy), in universities (such as IIT and the University of Chicago) and similar institutions.

This, however, is changing. European ethnics are giving way to Latinos-Mexicans on the Southwest Side and

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Democratic Party — controls the outcome in nearly all cases. Thus, most of the judges are Irish, have worked in party politics for many years, have served in government law offices like the Corporation Counsel for Chicago. The resulting decisions in court are generally of a very poor quality. The appointed federal judiciary is immeasurably superior and should provide the general model we follow.

### **Political Reform**

Significant governmental reform is impossible without political reform. The political parties which dominate the city and suburbs are not prepared to make government more participatory, to allow racial integration, or to create new units of government which they might not control. The current brand of politics — with Democrats in the city and Republicans in the suburbs — perpetuates oligarchical government, segregation, and an outmoded economy. This outmoded form of politics may have represented the immigrant working classes which inhabited the city during the first half of this century, but it does not serve the new professionalized workers. It is too much of a pay-off system in which a \$2 bottle of wine or a job at city hall are traded for votes. Professionals who use independent judgment in their work demand the same independence in their politics. And since 1950, white collar and professional workers in the eight county statistical area have increased from 44% to 51%, while blue collar workers have decreased from 44% to 36% of the labor force.

If there is no change, Chicago will be stuck with a political system which is more and more irrelevant to its major social and economic problems.

Puerto Ricans on the Northwest. The Latino areas have become buffer zones separating the ethnic enclaves from the black ghettos to the west and south. These new settlers did not necessarily choose to congregate in neighborhoods — finances and discrimination compelled them — but the end result is the same. There is a continuous retreat of the whites from the City, where there is now a slight majority of blacks and Latinos.

What can be done within the metropolitan area using local resources?

### **Local Solutions**

Three goals for the survival of the central city are 1) fiscal balance between municipal revenues and expenditures; 2) access to good quality schools and other municipal services and 3) responsive local government.

It should go without saying that there should be a balance between the City's revenues and its expenditures; yet that fiscal balance does not exist. The financial situation in Chicago appears less serious than it really is because the municipal government handles only a fourth of the functions, in terms of dollars, that other municipal governments handle. Actually, Chicago is bankrupt if all agencies are included who finance three-quarters of the cost of city government. For example, the state government is about 200 million dollars in the red and, within the City itself, the Board of Education has a deficit of 40 or 50 million dollars. Indeed, Chicago is probably worse off than New York, which is facing bankruptcy! Proportionately, Chicago has lost more jobs than New York City and, while one in eight New York residents is on welfare, the figure is one in five for Chicago.

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Political campaigns should rely more upon citizen volunteers than paid precinct captains or mass media ads. If existing political parties cannot reform, new independent political organizations which utilize volunteers, not patronage workers, must be created.

Either reformed parties or new political institutions must begin to select their candidates and programs through open hearings rather than by closed-door slate-making sessions. They must begin to require accountability of public and party officials. They need to replace economic rewards with psychological rewards for campaign workers. Volunteers will, in fact, participate in campaigns in order to advance candidates and causes in which they believe, for the excitement of politics itself, and for the sense of power that comes from being a part of the government. These new political participants attracted into the political process by the reformed parties or new political institutions must become as esteemed in our society as those who make money.

As in the case of governmental reforms, this is not abstract theory. On the northside of Chicago the Independent Precinct Organization has grown up since 1968 as a model of participatory politics. Members of I.P.O. are required to contribute money and work on a monthly basis. In return they decide directly the candidates and policies endorsed and supported. All endorsements require a two-thirds vote of the members in the I.P.O. ward, district, or general assembly. All candidates running for office, regardless of their party affiliation or lack of it, address the members directly. There is no slatemaking by

*continued*

# A PROFILE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

DE VISE

*continued*

Fiscal balance, then, is the first goal and, along with it, there should be equal access to quality schools and other municipal services. These should be administered on a county-wide basis. There should be one county school district and open attendance within that district.

City residents would no longer be shortchanged by asking them to pay high taxes for the privilege of sending their children to unsafe and inferior schools. The expected shift in demand from inner city to outer city and suburban schools can be managed. Those who oppose "busing" when it is compulsory are more likely to endorse such a program when they can choose whether or not to participate. The chance for their children to attend better schools is a strong incentive for parents to cooperate.

The necessary resources are available for the logistics

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## A BLUEPRINT FOR POLITICAL CHANGE

SIMPSON

*continued*

a few powerful ward committeemen.

Since 1968, I.P.O. has been extraordinarily successful in electing outstanding governmental officials such as aldermen Singer and Oberman, constitutional convention delegate Weisberg, and a host of state legislators including Joe Lundy, Dawn Clark Netsch, Jim Houlihan, and Mike Holewinski. They have shown that volunteer campaigns can defeat even the entrenched Chicago Democratic Machine. The same thing is beginning to happen slowly in the suburbs. Independent or participatory politics works in winning elections.

Independent or participatory politics must also have an issue component. It must mean more than participation for its own sake. It is only through participatory politics that public support, dedication, and power can be enlisted to rebuild Chicago's industry, integrate Chicago, and create new neighborhood and metropolitan governments.

Participatory politics will not prevail automatically, even though the social and economic forces (such as the professionalization of the work force) which encourage participatory politics are considerable. Participatory politics, like democracy of old, can be established only by choice. Reforming or replacing political parties, creating metropolitan and neighborhood governments, and assuming once again responsibility, must be the citizen's choice. Only under such conditions will democracy be reestablished in Chicago.

of such a program. The increased demand would coincide with a growing number of classrooms emptied by the declining birth rate. To provide further classroom space, many mobile units in the inner city would be moved to the suburbs. As the experience of magnet schools has shown, parents do not object to mobile school rooms or busing when their children can attend schools that are desirable.

The third goal for the survival of the central city — and the suburbs which depend upon it — is the need for a county-wide and more responsible local government. A new metropolitan government should be created that will bring the suburbs to the City rather than the City to the suburbs. Chicago should be divided into the 44 suburbs that it once was while the smaller suburbs should be merged into agglomerations with populations of at least 25,000, up to perhaps 100,000. This would create units of comparable size throughout the metropolitan area, all of which would contribute to a common tax base and share the same services.

The City has become less attractive to most middle-class families as its once-present sense of community identity and pride has become eroded. Local people feel impotent and powerless to make decisions which affect their neighborhoods. This impotence is largely the result of the increasing role of government in community affairs. The city government has lost taxing and other powers to larger governments; local community groups have lost power to city government. To add further to alienation, many economic decision-makers have moved from the City to the suburbs.

A great attraction of the suburb is that it is a smaller unit and can supply the sense of community which is disappearing from the city. Predictably, it has much greater control over its own destiny. Its municipal government, its school board, its zoning board, and other community agencies are more directly responsive to the community the people they serve.

Suburban governments have their own problems, however, and would benefit in many areas from a regional approach. In order to provide a minimum threshold for such services as a high school and a fire and police protection area, the suburban unit of government should protect at least 25,000 people. Furthermore, suburban units should be connected to regional services such as water supply, sanitation, pollution control, forest preserves and hospital and university districts.

For the sake of both city and suburbs, local resources should be equalized without destroying local initiative and incentive. Some pooling of the property tax and a great increase in state and federal subsidies would help. Specifically, non-residential property should be pooled as part of a county-level tax base. Presently, its unequal distribution results in tremendous disparities in tax rates and fiscal resources. County government, working with strong neighborhood councils, should help to redress the enormous inequities of community services, particularly in education and housing.

The solutions may seem drastic, naive and unrealistic. Most citizens in both city and suburbs would strenuously object to them. Politicians advocating these programs would be doomed to defeat at the polls. Yet to move at all, some ultimate goal must be defined. Any small step in that direction is welcome. The status quo invites disaster. When we dare to ask Europeans to forego century-old hatreds and establish common bonds, is it too much to ask the people of one American metropolis to solve their common problems on a metropolitan basis?

*George Anastaplo's story has been covered in FOCUS/Midwest through the years. Indeed, the first issue (June 1962) carried an article by Irving Dilliard on his difficulties with the Illinois Bar. Since then Anastaplo has fought the good battle. He was declared persona non grata by the government of Russia in 1960 and by the government of Greece in 1970. FOCUS/Midwest believes that the following statement which just came to our attention — written in November of 1975 — deserves wide reading; although, we must admit we are not quite as upset as the author is about some of the demoralizing effects of current fashions.*

# The limitations of public opinion /

GEORGE ANASTAPLO

**I**t has been twenty-five years since I was first fortunate enough to confront here in Chicago (on November 10, 1950) the Committee on Character and Fitness which was to deny me admission to the Illinois bar.

I was then twenty-five years old, the father of a six-month-old daughter (who has herself recently become a member of the Illinois bar).

\* \* \*

Critical to my difficulties with the character committee were (one) my observation, in response to questions, that the Declaration of Independence justifies the right of revolution, and (two) my refusal on principle to agree that the character committee was entitled to learn from me my political affiliations as a condition for admission to the bar.

Inquiries about possible affiliations with such organizations as the Communist Party and the Ku Klux Klan were arbitrarily pressed upon me by the character committee. This was done, it is evident from the record, only because the committee could not abide what I had dared to say about the Declaration of Independence and its right of revolution.

My career at the bar was limited thereafter to unsuccessful appeals from the character committee's decision refusing me a license to practice law. At the conclusion of those appeals (in 1961), I announced that I did not anticipate ever again making an effort (on my own initiative) to become a member of the Illinois bar. I had had my "day in court" — and thereupon retired from a practice of law which had culminated in my oral argument (in December 1960) before the Supreme Court of the United States. (The Supreme Court's opinions in my case, including Justice Black's generous dissenting opinion, may be found at 366 U.S. 82 [1961].)

Since then, I have been teaching in the political science and philosophy departments of Rosary College and in the adult education division of The University of Chicago.

\* \* \*

How does all this look now?

Just the other day, I ran into a distinguished lawyer whom I had not seen in years. He referred to various public controversies of the past two decades on which I had spoken. He then remarked that the unpopular positions I had taken had all been vindicated over the years. "How does it feel," he asked, "to have been proven right in everything you have stood for?" I answered (in that simpleminded way which some people mistake for arrogance) that being publicly "proven right" should not really matter very much to anyone who knows what he is doing.

After all, I had considered myself right from the beginning of my troubles with the character committee. I had sensed, for instance, that it was good neither for the bar nor for the country for me to give in to the bullying of the character committee. Why should I need others to tell me *now* that I had been right *then*?

Or, put another way, why should I rely more upon public opinion when it is right than when it is wrong — especially since I have learned that it can be very much a matter of chance whether that opinion is right or wrong? Or, put still another way, is not public opinion too much dependent upon uninformed passion to be a reliable guide on any serious issue?

\* \* \*

The limitations of public opinion make it mandatory that respectable individuals and organizations, who may be in a position to become informed, use their influence to guide community action.

I can illustrate this from my personal experiences. Probably decisive in my bar admission controversy was the failure of my law school faculty to intervene, as a body, with an impressionable character committee. I was early given to understand by the dean of that faculty (who is now Attorney General of the United States) that I would be on my own if I refused to surrender to the character committee's demands. He did all he could thereafter to make his prediction come true. [Ed. note: This article was written before the recent change of administration in Washington.]

Had I in those days been more mature or more calculating — and hence less moved than a young man is apt to be by considerations of honor — I would have insisted publicly (if only “for the record”) that that self-centered law faculty and its ambitious dean, who had shamelessly run for cover at the first sign of trouble, speak out on behalf of a rather good student of theirs (a veteran and an officer in the Air Force Reserve, at that) whom they well knew to be qualified for admission to the bar. (Of that faculty, only Malcolm Sharp, Wilber Katz, Harry Kalven, Roscoe Steffen, and Stanley Kaplan ever spoke out publicly on my behalf.)

There is here, at least for me, one important lesson of my case. If respectable organizations — churches, labor unions and professional associations, the press, corporations and foundations, universities — if such organizations do not discharge the duties that their privileges and superior information impose upon them, then a prudent and compassionate republic is difficult to perpetuate. Only if such organizations do intervene in a responsible manner can reason be brought to bear in public councils. Only thus can the best in us be consistently appealed to as a self-governing people.

Otherwise, we are prisoners of unpredictable, even violent, tastes and fashions, thereby running grave risks as we vacillate between such extremes as a repressive puritanism and a corrupting permissiveness, between such extremes as destructive aggressiveness and suicidal appeasement.

I turn now to a far grimmer illustration of irresponsible indifference than that seen in response to my bar admission case.

The most blatant instance among us of domestic injustice since the Second World War was probably the Rosenberg case. There were people in the American government, as well as among the bar and the press and in the scientific community, who should have known better. These people simply should not have permitted the execution of those convicted spies to take place (in June 1953), irrespective of the guilt or innocence of the parties involved. But it was fruitless for a few of us to counsel moderation in that desperate hour, especially when so many respectable people and organizations timidly remained silent.

One can see a similar neglect of duty today, although in far less grim circumstances, in the continued imprisonment of the harassed anti-war nurse, Jane Kennedy. Thus, I have recently had occasion to say, in a letter to an official high in the Department of Justice, “I should not conclude this instructive correspondence without reminding you of the plight of Miss Kennedy. It simply does not make sense to me that this dedicated nurse should be in a federal prison one day longer than it takes a conscientious lawyer in the Department of Justice to review the record in her case.”

It is an ungenerous state of affairs when a gentle woman (mistaken or not) who destroyed draft records in 1969 is kept in prison while people such as Lt. William Calley have been shown mercy. Miss Kennedy, it was recently reported in the press, does not believe prison can break her spirit. She added, “I do cry a lot in jail, though. Lord, how I cry.” This is a disgraceful, as well as an ungenerous, state of affairs.

\* \* \*

I return to what was said to me the other day about having been “proven right” in the court of public opinion.

To be thus proven right is nothing more than to have others remind one of what the best teachers have long

taught about both the limits and the usefulness of public opinion in any democratic regime. The good will of the public *can* be considerable and hence salutary, even when that public is misinformed and impassioned. But we do very much depend upon the sensible guidance of public opinion and hence of public affairs by disciplined men and organizations in a position to know better. If they do not do their duty, all the good will in the world cannot suffice.

I return also to what I have said about the Declaration of Independence and its reminder, through its authoritative invocation of the right of revolution, that all governments, whether or not they happen to be approved by public opinion, are subject to testing by enduring standards somehow rooted in nature. It is this vital proposition (upon which a responsible freedom of speech depends among us) which a self-righteous character committee, unchecked by the bar or by the law schools in this state, was permitted to try to subvert in my case.

In a curious sense, the bar and law schools of Illinois can be understood to have depended upon me, for a number of years, to do in defense of constitutional government and the rule of law what they did not dare do themselves. In this respect, at least, their instinct may have been sound. And so I have been fortunate enough to be able thus to serve my country as a volunteer in time of peace as I had, as a seventeen-year-old volunteer, in time of war.

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It remains to be seen whether we have really learned the costly lessons of the past quarter century of Cold War, lessons which culminated in the corrosive folly of our Indochinese sacrifices.

It sometimes seems to me that what lies ahead for us during the next quarter century, especially if the character of the American people continues to be capriciously undermined by a self-indulgent prosperity and by a shortsighted timidity, poses greater risks for republican government in this country than anything we have endured since the Civil War. The demoralizing effects of such fashions as “legal realism,” lotteries, obscenity, television and a relentless skepticism bear thinking about, as does our growing addiction to novelty and to sensationalism.

The American people, it does seem to me, need to be constantly reminded, by both precept and example, that there are indeed principles and standards which may require responsible and sometimes determined (but, if possible, good-natured) dissent from whatever happen to be the prevailing opinions and tastes of the day.

I trust I do not have to wait another twenty-five years to be “proven right” about all this also — about the critical need among us to train properly the character as well as the understanding of the people of this country.

November, 1975

George Anastaplo received his A.B., 1948, J.D., 1951, and Ph.D., 1964, all from The University of Chicago. He is professor of political science and of philosophy, Rosary College, and lecturer in the liberal arts, The University of Chicago; also, research director and advisor, Governor's Commission on Individual Liberty and Personal Privacy, State of Illinois (1974-1975). He is the recipient of the 1975 Harry Kalven Freedom of Expression Award, American Civil Liberties Union, Illinois Division. He is the author of books and many articles.





# Subsidized housing works

PRIVATE MANAGEMENT IS THE KEY

**J. S. FUERST & MARK ENENBACH**

*J.S. Fuerst is the assistant director of urban studies at Loyola University, Chicago. He is the author of "Public Housing in Europe and America" and contributor to many magazines, including the Nation and Progressive. Mark Enenbach is a member of the Department of Human Services, City of Chicago.*

The scarcity of multi-family housing for low and moderate income families is well known. When programs of conventional public housing established between 1937 and 1961 failed to provide adequate housing, a new housing subsidy program was initiated in 1961. It provided moderate income housing by interest subsidies to the private market. Even greater subsidies were offered under "236" in 1968 through a further reduction of the interest from 3% to 1%. This reduction lowered mortgage payments for owners and consequently rents for tenants, though at a substantial cost to the taxpayer.

The real subsidy was in tax deduction for depreciation under which annual yields to wealthy taxpayers could reach forty percent and more. Developers and investors rushed to take advantage of this bonanza and 240,000 units of rental and 330,000 units of sale housing were brought into the market by the middle of 1972 — more than one-half again of the publically subsidized housing units built since 1937.

The spigot was turned off in early 1973; and the 1974 Act provided only minimally for this type of housing. Provisions were made for some multi-family housing, but because of current costs and regulations, little new housing is likely to be produced. Today the accent is on rent payments to low-income families.

It is widely claimed that publically subsidized multi-family projects for low- and moderate-income families cannot be successful. This may not be accurate. The following study of publically subsidized *privately operated*

projects indicates that such projects can provide needed housing.

Projects for the study conducted in 1972 and 1973 were selected to indicate whether newly constructed publically subsidized multi-family unit structures designed to serve low- and moderate-income families, could be successful on any terms. Projects had to be 1) newly built (not rehabilitated); 2) have one full year of operating experience; 3) accept families and 4) have more than 50 units. The 39 Chicago projects chosen comprised 8,200 units and complete information was obtained on 33 projects containing 6,400 units.

These thirty-three projects offer important clues as to the workability of multi-family, subsidized housing. The success or failure, it was concluded, depends upon specific location, architecture, size, number of rooms per apartment, number of children per project, type of tenants selected, type of management and local tax assessments. Less important to success are factors such as race of tenants, height of buildings, density in terms of land coverage, and whether they are built in city, town, or suburb.

## LOCATION

The most important factor in the success of any project, public or private, is location. Because of local opposition, eighteen of the 33 projects had to be built in segregated neighborhoods that were virtually 100% black, where private unsubsidized housing was unlikely to be built, and white families were unlikely to move. Only black families moved in. Fifteen "236" projects were built in white or mixed areas, and the 8,000 units were occupied by approximately 70% black and 30% white families.

### Projects in Black Areas

The construction of some projects in largely black areas is essential because of the continuing need for adequate housing, although it is more difficult to operate and maintain projects there than in mixed or white areas.

For example, a well designed 200-unit project with two- and three-story buildings was constructed in a seriously dilapidated area. At the time of our visit, the electric bell system for entering had been so vandalized in two entrance halls that the front door was ajar, allowing visitors without keys to enter. This made the building prey to strangers. Within the last year many of the "better adjusted" families moved out and "more difficult to manage" families moved in. Another project has faced a dramatic shift in tenancy due to changing populations in the area. Trashing and vandalism are problems, although more serious crimes are not yet a factor. Despite good management and concerned tenants, the future for solvency, according to the manager, is not bright. Several all-black projects in less deteriorated sections, with better than average management are operating more successfully, but unpaid rents resulting from tenant unemployment, plus high operating costs resulting from inflation even have these projects hovering on the edge of insolvency. Similar situations were found in one suburb and in three close-in satellite cities.

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\*"Successful projects" as used here are those projects that had three of four factors present: less than 10% rent delinquency, less than 15% voluntary annual tenant turnover, less than 2 months mortgage delinquency; and a general statement by HUD that these projects are operating satisfactorily. "Projects in difficulty" are those with three of the following four factors present: voluntary tenant turnover of more than 25%, vacancy losses exceeding 15% of rent roll, more than 6 months mortgage payment delinquency, and a HUD statement that these projects are in difficulty.

## Integrated Projects

Fifteen of the 33 projects illustrate that blacks and whites can live together in the same project and the same building managed under public subsidy with few move-outs occasioned by race, or income segregation.

Many suburbanites have voiced fear and opposition not only to admitting black families but also to allowing subsidized housing to be built. Deerfield, Illinois became a familiar headline when it halted a multi-family development because residents believed it would put black families in their town. In 1972, a bitter fight ensued in Forest Hills, N.Y., when the New York City Housing Authority began construction of moderate income public housing in a white middle-income suburb. This fight is not over. The U.S. Supreme Court validated the action of a California suburb that voted to keep public housing out; and recently the same court allowed Arlington Heights to retain its single family home zoning, rejecting the plea of a would-be developer of a 236 to change to multi-family zoning.

It is worth noting that in Arlington Heights, and many other suburbs the fear is that masses of low income Blacks from the inner city will be introduced, a fear which seems to be unwarranted. The proportion of minorities admitted to these projects varies between 10 and 20%; and virtually all these families have previously lived or worked (frequently both) in the neighboring suburbs. In the light of this opposition, the construction and tenantry of low-moderate income, publically subsidized integrated housing in Chicago suburbs such as Wheaton, Batavia, Mount Prospect and Carol Stream, Addison and Palatine, and in small satellite towns like Waukegan, Elgin, Aurora, and Kankakee is important. Sites for these suburban projects are frequently obtained only in unincorporated areas outside the suburb and then annexed. Occasionally, developers will acquire sites in the suburbs already zoned for multi-family but these are less usual, frequently expensive and more difficult to obtain.

Another suburban housing project ran into early difficulties because it was originally tenanted unselectively with too large a proportion of large, low-income families, many of whom did not pay their rent and were in addition disruptive. As a result many of the stable tenants began to move out. The manager-developer had to evict many of the disturbing and non-rent-paying families in order to keep the project "well tenanted," solvent, and integrated. He succeeded in "turning around" the project and it is now operating successfully, socially and financially. A third project is operated close to a suburban college town, and is racially, socially, and economically integrated. Most of the families consist of parents and children with elderly, some young marrieds with no children, and single person families under the age of 50. Though it is in a middle-income area, no flight is occurring and while there was a 50% turnover per year because of the proportion of college students, an ample waiting list keeps the project full.

In Chicago where the housing authority has been reluctant to build housing for low-moderate income families in white or mixed areas, five of these publically subsidized projects are now being privately operated with mixed tenancy. One twenty-story, artistically and dramatically designed building with accompanying row houses, is one of the real success stories. It has many young marrieds, some with children, and a high number of students because of its proximity to a University. Tenants of all races are taken, there are virtually no vacancies, and there is a long waiting list. Another example is an unusual elevator project in a middle-class residential area with 45% minority families — black, East Indian, Oriental and Hispanic, and a spread of

low to middle incomes. The number of children is not large, and it is occupied by many singles and couples. Indistinguishable architecturally from the units that surround it, it has almost no turnover.

A number of integrated projects have been built in areas where there had been only token integration. Many developers themselves have been somewhat reluctant to place more projects in such neighborhoods because they feared that they would not be allowed to maintain "quotas" and did not want to promote all black projects in existing white or even mixed neighborhoods.

### Management

A relationship seems to exist between successful\* projects and a management that believes stable tenancy is a more advisable goal than the highest possible return. John Waner, HUD midwest regional director said in a letter to the author, "I definitely subscribe to your idea of quality management. Fly by night non-profit organizations or self-centered sponsors have a tendency to siphon off funds which should go to the operation of a project." However, even such management cannot overcome bad location, poor design, unfair property taxes or bad original image.

Management firms that operated "successful" projects screen applicants with personal interviews, home visits, and credit checks. Several managers explained that the personal interviews were necessary not only with the head of the family but with all persons, including children, who were to occupy the apartment. One manager said that in her three years of managing one project, "as a result of careful initial screening" she did not have to evict even one family. When time and money did not permit each tenant to be so checked, management tried to investigate where there was any reasonable doubt as to whether the tenant would pay his rent regularly, keep the apartment in reasonable shape, and not be disturbing to the other tenants.

Many managers agreed that tenant selection was the most critical element of management of such projects because it was difficult to evict a disruptive tenant. Virtually, none of the managers reported experiencing any community problems because an applicant was rejected, though occasionally the rejection rate ran higher than 2 out of 3 applicants. Managers time and again stated that while broken families, families receiving public assistance, or families with social pathology are welcome, they cannot be accepted, according to one manager, in "excessive number" (an operational definition arrived at by trial and error) or even necessarily in strict order of application. While many of the managers believed that one of the primary functions of this type of housing was to serve fatherless families and families receiving public assistance, the same managers believed that extra care had to be taken with such families to be certain of their potential for adjustment.

Sponsoring cooperatives, fraternal, or church groups have taken the position that the only criterion is "need." In five out of seven of the non-profit projects there has been extensive vandalism, much overdue rental, rampant fear of violence to person and property, and multiple vacancies due to high turnover and few applications. Similarly six out of seven of these projects operated by non-profit associations are seriously behind in mortgage payments as contrasted with a significantly smaller proportion of the limited-dividend projects. Moreover, these non-profit projects cannot remedy the situation because there is no more money to invest and no tax shelter to salvage.

One of the serious problems is high maintenance. Based on previous experience with unsubsidized projects, managers found that maintenance per unit was 10-15% higher

than they had anticipated.

Evictions are a necessary part of management. Yet they are frequently difficult to accomplish. While courts will remove a tenant for non-payment of rent, it is often laborious to obtain a court order where the family is merely disruptive — or where the apartment is ill kept and the children merely antisocial. When management uses tenant councils to help oust an offending tenant, the proof generally has to be ironclad; and all too often tenants are unwilling to testify even if they have been victims. With enough perseverance and willingness to spend money for legal fees even recalcitrant tenants can be removed. At least one manager believed that the key to successful eviction of offending tenants is a strong tenant union which exercises peer group pressure and often accomplishes the removal of the tenant without the necessity of eviction.

### Rentals

Rents are based by HUD and the owner-sponsor on the amortization of development costs plus interest and operating expenses. Rents vary from \$145-\$160 for one bedroom and \$165-\$190 for two bedrooms. These rents were considerably less than those of the new unsubsidized private units renting for \$220-\$250 for one bedroom; \$290-\$320 for two bedrooms and correspondingly higher for three bedrooms. On the other hand, the subsidized rents are more within range of older three to twelve flat buildings that had standard units as low as \$150-\$175 for one bedroom; \$175-\$225 for two bedrooms, etc. Although these older units are only \$20 more than the "236s," little public concern is shown about the fact that the "236s" provide the same or more amenities for about the same price. Many private substandard and small units rent for even less; and some families are willing to sacrifice amenities in order to achieve cheaper rents or to stay out of "subsidized housing."

High turnover raises questions as to income and rent rules. Under the law, tenants are admitted if their income is within 35% of the local public housing income limit. For most areas annual income limits vary from \$10,000 to \$14,000. Some allowance has been made for increased incomes after moving in, but generally when income goes over a specified amount — say \$17,000 for a family of four — the family must pay "market rent" (and loses the rent subsidy). This can raise rentals by as much as \$80 a month. However, fewer than 10% of tenants pay over "basic" rent, and less than 1% pay "market rent" because when threatened with substantial increases, tenants usually move. Unfortunately, those who move are often the most upward-striving, community-minded tenants whom the project can least afford to lose.

Since these premiums from "market rents" do not accrue to the owner but revert to HUD, few managers are anxious to raise the rent of their best tenants. Such rent surcharges raise important questions as to the effectiveness of the excess income-rent policy. It was largely responsible in conventional public housing for the present concentration of low-income tenants. Some managers indicate that better tenants might be willing to pay somewhat higher but never "market" rental. They move out when the advantage of living in a "low-moderate" income project becomes minimal.

### DESIGN

Perhaps the most neglected aspect of conventional public housing has been its design. Some well-designed buildings have been constructed, but they are the exception. Architects have usually designed public housing to minimum

specifications because they have been under a "cost gun" from the federal government both as to their fees and extra amenities and the administration attitude that these buildings should look "poverty-oriented" and have no frills.

The "236" program has been far more flexible than conventional public housing, has avoided many of the architectural pitfalls, and has provided some first-rate design. Buildings have been low rise, medium rise, or high rise, and many of them have been planned in harmony with the neighborhood. The size and density of the projects, the size of units as well as the design have charted new directions for publically subsidized housing.

### High Rise Buildings

Both European and American housing literature are replete with diatribes against high rise buildings for the low-moderate income families. A Chicago federal court decision singled out the elevator project for special treatment and decreed that no project with elevators could be built for families or, at least, that children could not live above the third floor. The judge, influenced by the 70-million-dollar ghettos of Robert Taylor and Francis Cabrini public housing projects, virtually eliminated all further high rise conventional public housing for families. HUD did likewise in its regulations.

In the light of these decisions, it might be predicted that the elevator projects among the 236s could be failures. Actually, they were not.

Of the eight high or medium rises in the study, only three had high turnover, many social problems, and high mortgage delinquency, but even these conditions related to factors other than the high rise, such as the original location of the project, the type of management, the number of large units or the kind of tenant selection. On the other hand, there were at least four that had low turnover, few seriously damaging problems, little mortgage delinquency, and were both praised and prized by their tenants. Most elevator units are in the city; in outlying areas land is usually sufficiently cheap to eliminate the necessity for high rises. Recently however more high rises have been constructed in suburbs and satellite cities, particularly for elderly; and it seems as if this may be a growing trend. Two elevator projects referred to earlier are highly successful because aside from their outstanding design and management, they have relatively few large units. Children have caused problems in some elevator buildings. For example, one manager reported children drag racing in the elevators, and defacing walls and floors is not an infrequent occurrence. On the other hand, where parents have reasonable control of children and particularly where children are not too numerous, elevators haven't been a serious problem. Experience for many years in England, France, Germany, Toronto, New York City, and even in newer middle and upper income areas in Chicago has confirmed this observation. However, managers and tenants seem to agree that high rises over ten stories high are less apt to be successful than medium rises.

Probably a more important factor in success is the overall size of the project.

### Size of Project

Under the 236 program, none had more than 500 units and most had less than 200. They are "successful" because they do not call attention to themselves. Blending with a neighborhood has a drawback: a small project can be overwhelmed by a surrounding slum. At the very least, enough stable middle-income families need to be in the area to support good commercial, community, and educational

facilities, along with a good mixture of residential buildings.

### Size of Units

Among the low-moderate income families, the housing needs of large families are most pressing, causing many large apartments to be built. They were filled not only with large but also with many broken families. Experience has shown that the concentration of families with many children in elevator buildings presents too many difficulties and should be avoided.

It may be possible to operate larger units for low-income families if they are low rise and low density. It should be noted that three-or-more-bedroom units comprised 27% of "projects in difficulty" but only 12% in the "successful" projects. Suburban communities accept many children when the vast majority belong to self-supporting, adequate families. If the aim, however, is to serve many large families who are also "broken" and poor, larger subsidies for construction, more care in selection of families and vastly more extensive social services will be required.

### Density

Finding large enough sites for public housing is a major difficulty. Charles Swibel, chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority, stated that in predominantly white occupied areas of the city there is no more vacant land on which to build without violating the current occupancy standards. A frequent density figure given as the objective is 30-35 units per acre. However, considerably higher densities are found in many of the projects with good results; and contrariwise, low density is no guarantee of success. Several suburban and city projects are in serious difficulty with only 13 or 18 families to the acre.

Most of the projects in the study are built on vacant land. The average density per acre is 73 units with a median of 35. However, the suburban low rise densities are between 13 and 35 units per acre, and the city elevator ones between 90-300 per acre. The 200-per-acre density high rise in an area studded with apartment houses and other high rises presents no problem because of the low number of persons, particularly children, per unit, in spite of the high number of units per acre.

Lower density in the privately operated projects is achieved by a smaller average unit size and by a mixture of young marrieds, elderly couples and singles and a relatively small number of children in elevator buildings. This type of project for which there is certainly an enormous need offers the type of rounded community that make up many healthy areas. Unlike government agencies in many countries of Europe with longer experience in urban living, great sophistication, smaller families, and less available space, the U.S. has been reluctant to subsidize housing for such groups.

### Profits and Tax Benefits

The "236" program was promoted on the assumption that profits could be limited to 6% and private enterprise would find it worthwhile to provide housing because of tax benefits. The extensive development of the "236" until the program was discontinued demonstrated that private developers were interested in 6% per annum and often less as long as they could achieve build-up of capital in the form of tax-sheltered properties.

It may be true that much of this housing would have been produced even with a much lesser degree of tax shelter. There are no guides where to draw the line except to reduce the tax shelters gradually and see the effect on project development. Such a reduction in tax benefits may have to be counter-balanced by guarantees of return on investment.

On the other hand, even with the tax shelters some degree of disillusionment is beginning to appear. All too many of the projects show no cash flow and are beginning to end up in the hands of the HUD in which case the tax benefits can all be lost. Indeed, even if the "236" program is revived, there may be fewer takers unless some of the rules are changed.

### Property Taxes

Local taxes can constitute from 15% to 40% of rental income. This can spell the difference between success or failure. In fact, projects have been taken over by HUD because of mortgage default due to tax overassessment and the lack of retroactive adjustment. If Federal income taxes are erroneously paid, refunds are possible. This is not the case if local property taxes are found to be too high.

Public housing pays Payment In Lieu Of Taxes (PILOT), which is 10% of shelter rents. Real estate operators have for many years complained that public housing should pay property taxes and that PILOT was grossly unfair to local property owners who had to support schools for project children.

Now, however, that private owners operate subsidized projects, anything over 10% taxes is claimed as "too much." In Michigan, a law was recently passed restricting tax payments on these "236" projects to 10% of gross rentals, the same amount paid by public housing agencies. Also, Illinois tax authorities have responded to these cries of pain. Outside Cook County, the property taxes are around 14% and occasionally less.

In a 1975 report, the City Club of Chicago recommended that local taxes on 236 projects be sharply reduced. Such legislation was passed by both houses, but former Governor Walker vetoed the bill.

### Conclusions

Today, only subsidized multi-family rental units offer housing for the underhoused low- and moderate-income families. Inasmuch as the "236" program has not as yet been completely eroded, suggestions are in order as to how to maintain and add to the stock of available housing.

Projects should be located a) in many residential areas not now serving black families, b) in many more black middle-class areas, and c) in most suburban areas.

An important control is the choice of development and management firms, who must have a record of solid experience not only in managing private buildings but in planning and operating subsidized housing. Successful management of subsidized housing includes the ability to select tenants who will pay their rent adequately, who maintain their apartment reasonably, and who will not be overly disruptive. "Good" management includes the ability to evict with firmness and fairness when necessary as well as the ability to maintain the project economically and efficiently.

The traditional 6% management fee may have to be reconsidered, since some management firms are cutting back on the "236s," because the fee is too low.

Optimally, housing should have a tenancy diversified in race, size, type, family composition, and income. Perhaps the most important element in keeping a balanced tenancy is the maintenance of a large waiting list of applicants. Such a waiting list can only be developed if the project has a good reputation for stability and for serving low- and moderate-income families well — an image which requires constant support from the media. On the other hand, for the calculable future a considerable amount of housing may also have to be built in all-black areas with all-black tenancy. Coincident with such building, these black areas

must receive community support in the form of sufficient community, commercial, health, and educational facilities.

Inextricably bound up with achieving such an image is design. Many of these "236" projects have avoided the grossest pitfalls of public housing architecture. They are relatively well designed and harmonious with the surrounding neighborhood. One of the primary factors in their acceptance is their indistinguishability from private housing.

Since many 236s are managing adequately at their current levels of density, the limit of 120 persons per project or 30 to 40 families per acre imposed on public housing by the Chicago Federal Court decision is questionable. Medium-rise buildings seem to be satisfactory for low- to moderate-income families if there is a mix of family composition with children and not too many 3-bedroom units.

The average number of persons per household should approximate 3.2 as compared with the excessive 5.5 in public housing. Where in outlying areas densities approximate 25 units to the acre with larger apartments, the average-size household can be 4 or slightly more. On the other hand, in elevator buildings, when there are more than 150 units to the acre, the experience has been discouraging if the average number of persons per family greatly exceeds 2.4.

The size of the current projects (200-500 units) has not presented any problems, except in deteriorating areas where the chance of success for a small-size project is decreased unless it is accompanied by a substantial infrastructure of schools, commercial, health, and recreational facilities and additional residential development.

Inasmuch as the program is to provide housing for the low-moderate income population, rent levels are crucial. But even the moderate level of rentals established are frequently too high for many who elect to spend their meager income less for rent and more for other services. This is particularly true for suburban housing and its higher transportation costs. As a result, even the moderate rentals exclude many would-be consumers.

If rentals are reduced further, it would require either a greater subsidy to the private operators, or a recognition that the Federal tax credits are already great enough to provide for a reduction. Another answer is to raise the income eligibility level of tenants. The excess income policy of the Federal government which has modified under the 1974 act, should be carefully studied in order to maximize the number of low-moderate income families to be served. At the same time, modification of rent surcharges will help projects retain their better families.

Just how much the tax shelter can be reduced without losing the impetus for the program is a question. One gauge is the point at which tax concessions and interest payments begin to cost more than a subsidy for conventional public housing.

Housing provided at considerable cost to the Federal taxpayer should not be lost because of local tax gouging. Changes should be made to limit local property tax administrators in their power to tax these projects.

Many of the points made in relation to the development of privately managed, publically subsidized housing may be equally applicable to conventional public housing. At this time, however, it is easier to rectify the mistakes of the "236s" to provide housing than to remake the public housing program.

Beyond all doubt these suggestions will provide more new housing than a volume of rent supplements given to individuals to seek housing on their own.



# POEMS

## **FAMILY TREE/Albert Salsich**

Down here sound moves slow,  
turns dark, spreads  
like sap  
like sweat from shoulders, knees, groin.  
this is the last elm.

A tree so thick I cannot get a hold on it  
anywhere from a ladder, takes a long time  
dying: like a marriage.  
It grows, changes, sends out new leaves  
even as it feels itself going  
soft underneath the bark, its shell, its mask  
against an honest sun.

A tree so far up it makes the sky turn  
takes itself for granted,  
is assumed: like love.  
It frames a scene that colors with its seasons.

Tree, love, go back to your roots and wait.  
There is no hope  
in pretending. My side is losing  
limbs already, shrivelled fingers  
drumming the ground, typing a final will.

Our community has an ordinance against decay.  
You have been inspected.

It will be a routine job, clean and fast  
and expensive, in the manner of professionals.  
What remains will be no more  
than flat memory, filled with silence and light,  
fragrant as dust from saws.

## **A HISTORY OF TV/Albert Salsich**

Dakota Charlie's really  
Matt Dillon going  
sea-saw towards the hideout  
on a nag he's not so tough  
he squints at women  
like a kid everybody knows  
stubble-faced poker-tired snakes  
hide in the rocks  
the sun hangs over  
shacks in town  
people haven't heard  
Marshal Dillon's breathing hard yet  
he keeps on going to  
what his duty says  
shoot  
down long gun barrel bores the fixed eye  
a man who has to hate  
his job  
the great American heart  
blazing in the West like a star  
fades soon into an ad

## **FIRE -DANCE/Meg Files**

The pumper forces water  
through the holding  
hands of the yellow-jacketed men,  
rushing out smoke  
for the watchers. The old house

swells, blazing. My husband  
whose hand holds my hip  
would heave the little firebug  
bastard in to repent  
pyromania, and I think

of following him. I can see fire  
orange through a window; I would  
straddle the smoking  
sill, be led to the fireplace,  
stand letting the hot bricks singe

my eyelashes and my clothes off.  
The chimney falls through  
the roof and the crowd whistles  
and claps. My husband walks backward  
from the heat. He would drift

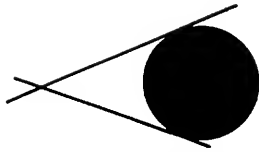
from my disappearance  
carefully to some girl he knew.  
Half-buried under chimney bricks,  
my breasts would swell  
blackening in fear

that her thighs might be smooth  
for his palms. Oil drawn to the surface  
of my skin would ignite, I would fire-dance.  
He'd find me in the morning ruined  
in the middle of the rubble. Kissing

me he would sit with bits  
of skin on his lips. The fire  
flies above the roof, hangs  
heat in the air. Untested, his fingers  
stroke my hip. I would fire-dance.

## **The Lieutenant Governor's Sister Had Tourette's Syndrome/Ann Slegman**

She cleaned our house  
cursed her brother  
who lent her no money.  
Mother did not listen.  
She said,  
"Housekeepers are hard to find."  
One night, Eunice  
collapsed in the hall  
hissing profanities.  
Mother looked in the want ads  
gave Eunice to an old woman  
who couldn't hear.



## THE RIGHT WING

### AMERICAN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION

This fall was the debut of three well-organized programs designed to sell free enterprise to the American public. One is a booklet and audio-visual presentation called "The Incredible Bread Machine," by World Research, Inc. of San Diego. The second is the supposedly non-partisan Advertising Council's ads designed to stimulate requests for a 20-page booklet published by the Commerce Department (at taxpayers' expense, of course) explaining the government's view of how private enterprise works. The third is the American Economic Foundation's new idea of showing business executives how to "sell free enterprise" to their employees. In October, 1976, AEF leaders arrived in Missouri and convinced St. Louis business leaders to kick off an educational campaign "to correct widely-held misconceptions about the U.S. economic system."

### CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE

Charles F. Robertson, a 30-year associate of the late Gerald L. K. Smith and his Christian Nationalist Crusade, has been elected Mayor of Eureka Springs, Arkansas, site of the seven-story "Christ of the Ozarks" statue which Smith erected. Robertson led Mr. and Mrs. Smith to the location and has been managing their enterprises there, including a Passion Play which took in more than \$1.5 million last year. Asked if he agreed with Smith, a notorious bigot, Robertson recently replied: "completely." It is reported that Robertson plans to bring other right-wing activities to Eureka Springs. Meanwhile, Robertson's son-in-law, Lee Morgan, is operating the Glendale, California, headquarters of the Crusade and putting out its *Cross and the Flag*.

### "CLEAN-UP TV"

Among preachers who visited the White House this year and subsequently endorsed Gerald Ford over Jimmy Carter was Rev. Cecil Todd, who runs a "Clean Up TV" campaign in Joplin, Missouri. Todd spoke this fall at the dedication of new headquarters for Dr. Billy James Hargis, director of Christian Crusade. Todd has also been ordered by the courts to repay investors for securities sold in violation of federal anti-fraud laws.

### GREEN HILL PUBLISHERS

Green Hill Publishers, at Ottawa, Ill., has entered the field of school materials and books on the conservative side. Its authors include such right-wing names as Cong. Philip Crane, Milton Friedman and William Rusher, but it is concentrating on mass market paperbacks and pamphlets suitable for classroom use. Green Hill also distributes the studies of the International Institute for Economic Research, a conservative group which works with the University of California at Los Angeles.

### REV. GLENNON KING

Rev. Glennon King, the black preacher from Albany, Georgia, who tried with fanfare to join Jimmy Carter's Baptist Church at Plains two days before the election, wrote an article about 10 years ago attacking the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for its integration activities. In the January, 1959, *American Mercury* — then, as now, a right-wing magazine — King wrote that "the NAACP has done more harm to the long-range interests of the American Negro than good."

Before that, Roy Wilkins, NAACP Executive Secretary, had written King suggesting that he not renew membership in the group.

### NATIONAL COALITION FOR CHILDREN

Dr. Onalee McGraw, head of the National Coalition for Children (which has attacked the Mondale-Brademas child care bill), has joined the staff of Heritage Foundation, a right-wing "think tank" in Washington.

### PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY WRITES AGAIN

Arlington House Publishers just announced that Phyllis Schlafly has written her first book on the anti-ERA forces in the country. "Mrs. Schlafly zings the women's lib philosophy and the ERA, but the main thrust is positive: how women today can find new ways to fulfillment and femininity," announces Arlington.

### "NEW RIGHT" MOVES ON CONGRESS

Two Missouri Congressional candidates received campaign contributions from "new right" organizations last year: Democrat Morgan Maxfield, running for Jerry Litton's old 6th district seat, received money from the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC), the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), and the Gun Owners of America (GOA), and Republican Robert Snyder, who sought Jim Symington's 2nd district seat, received \$3,000 from the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.

These three groups (CSFC, NCPAC, and

GOA) are largely the creation of direct-mail fund-raising efforts by Richard Viguerie, who served as chief fund-raiser for George Wallace until early in 1976. They did not even exist as recently as the 1974 elections, and account for the unprecedented increase in funds going to conservative candidates this year.

In addition to their huge fund-raising efforts — for the 1972 congressional elections, conservatives raised \$250,000; this year, they raised \$3.5 million — Viguerie's organizations provide advice, training, and other services to their chosen candidates. In fact, one characteristic that sets them apart from the "old right" is their disappointment with mere fund-raising and their newly developed interest in *organization* and *organizing*.

Another difference is political affiliation. While the "old right" represented mainly by the American Conservative Union ACU, its publication *Human Events*, and its fund-raising affiliate the Conservative Victory Fund CVF and its youth affiliate Youth America's Campaign Committee YACC, is officially bipartisan, informally it works closely with the Republican Party. Viguerie's "new right" supports conservatives of both parties. Viguerie believes this is important "you can[t] come to power in America with the Republican Party." John T. Dolan, executive director of NCPAC says "The conservatives who are doing best [in the election] are the ones with the least identification with the Republicans." During the 1976 presidential campaign, Viguerie supported Democrat-turned-Republican John Connally, while the "old right" supported Ronald Reagan and resented the new right's failure to rally around Reagan.

Their insistence on winning and their willingness to compromise in order to "come to power" means that ideologically the "new right" is not as dogmatically in favor of laissez-faire economics as is the "old right." According to Kevin P. Phillips, the "new right" is willing to use an activist federal government in economic policy to build a constituency that includes blue-collar workers, ethnics, and others who share its conservative social views.

The two rightist groups differ in their methods of operation, too. In line with Viguerie's background in direct-mail fund-raising (which is an expensive form of fund-raising), the new right had given out in contributions to candidates only 20% of its total expenditures. The "old right," especially resent what they term as wasteful methods: spending so much just to raise a little more money.

The "new right" defends its methods as a necessary evil when an organization is just starting, and points out that many of their funds go to non-financial services for candidates. But they are heeding the old right's criticism by attempting to differentiate

*continued on page 32*

## Student representation needed

EDITORIAL, continued from page 6

campus community, pay taxes in the form of tuition, are the primary beneficiaries for which colleges are created, yet have no direct involvement in the government affecting their daily lives.

So confident are the student supporters that student trusteeism would prove beneficent to public higher education in Missouri that they would agree to an amendment providing that student trusteeship expire at the end of a normal term of board membership, that is 5 or 6 years, depending on the institution.

But the students need constituent support in order to achieve a "do pass" recommendation from the Senate Education Committee. If you agree that the governing boards of Missouri universities should include student representation, ask these uncommitted members of the Senate Education Committee to support SB 15: Nelson B. Tinnin, chairman; James Conway, Harold Caskey, Hardin Cox, Joseph L'rappir, Emory Melton, John T. Russell, Ralph Uthlaut, and Truman Wilson.

## THE RIGHT WING

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somewhat the constituencies of their allied organizations. This year the CSFC concentrated on small business people, of whom many were former Democrats. The NCPAC used an anti-labor message to concentrate on more traditional Republicans. The GOA pursued its natural constituency, gun owners, across party lines.

Other Viguerie-related groups are the anti-union Public Service Political Action Committee (PSPAC) and the Committee for Responsible Youth Politics (CRYP).

Liberals are worried that the plethora of old and especially new right groups is a cover-up for avoiding the spirit of the Federal Campaign reform law. Harold Wolff of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, for example, insists that the gifts from various conservative groups have occurred too close in time to be coincidental, and that seemingly dormant minor conservative organizations with virtually no cash-on-hand have turned up with sudden contributions this year after the major right-wing groups had already given the legal maximum to a particular campaign.

Howard Phillips, who is trying to build permanent grassroots conservative organizations in every district in the country, believes Viguerie can generate up to \$250,000 for each of 30 congressional contests two years from now.

"In 1978," Viguerie said, "the organized conservative community is going to put in many times more than three million. . . I want a massive assault on Congress in 1978. I don't want any token efforts. We now have the talent and resources to move in a bold, massive way."

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